

Britain and Poland-Lithuania

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The Northern World

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

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VOLUME 37

Britain and Poland-Lithuania

Contact and Comparison from the
Middle Ages to 1795

Edited by

Richard Unger, with the Assistance of Jakub Basista



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A NOTE ON PROPER NAMES

With the names of cities commonly in this volume the name in use at the time of publication is the one that appears. There are some but few exceptions to that rule. Place names in Central Europe are a long-standing and continuing source of difficulty. With 1000 years of history, languages and empires changing, many names have changed as they have in a few cases in Britain.

The editors of the present volume had to choose an option, and no single choice can make everyone happy. The decision is to use contemporary place names that appear today in the *Times Atlas* and so can be found easily by any reader. Using names in this way does not solve the problem of contested identification but does make the locations easier to find on any map published recently. The editors are keenly aware that at times the results may seem strange and counterintuitive. That sense of unease along with a fear of surrender to some potential disruptive or highly biased political programme must be weighed against the desire for clarity and consistency. At the very least the place names should be transparent.

In many cases and to avoid too much confusion in general the first time a city or town name is used in a contribution the alternate name or names is included immediately afterward in parentheses, for example:

Bierzwnik (Marienwalde)
Elbląg (Elbing)
Gdańsk (Danzig)
Kaliningrad (Königsberg, Królewiec)
Kamień (Kammin)
Kołobrzeg (Kolberg)
Kraków (Cracow)
Kwidzyn (Marienwerder)
Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów)
Malbork (Marienburg)
Poznań (Posen)
Radzyń (Reden)
Szczecin (Stettin)

Toruń (Thorn)
Vilnius (Wilno)
Warsaw (Warszawa)
Wrocław (Breslau)

The names of Polish rulers are given in the form that is consistent with general English usage, for example:

Sigismund
Stanislaus
Vladislaus

The Polish Diet in general is called the *Sejm*, the Polish gentry is often referred to as the *szlachta*, and for *Rzeczpospolita* both Republic and Commonwealth are used to translate the term. The goal throughout has been to minimize confusion though with the understanding that the results may be inconsistent with some expectations. The editors apologize for any errors, oversights, or discontent caused by the choices made.

PREFACE

On 1 May, 2004, ten new states joined the European Union. The immediate change from those additions has been the dropping of many existing barriers to trade and the movement of peoples but the ambition is to integrate the ten into a stronger economic and political union with the rest of Europe. Poland is the largest and most populous and arguably the most important of the new states. Though Poland may be new to the European Union Poland is, of course, not new to Europe. The country has been a part of that geographical and cultural concept almost as long as the idea of something that could be called Europe has existed. As of May, 2004, Poland now, like Britain, is part of a confederation anchored by a Franco-German alliance and though they may be part of the European Union they are very different, obviously. Those differences are so great that to compare and contrast the two must seem strange to most observers from politicians to religious leaders to economists to demographers to tourists. Poland and Britain seems an odd combination and an even more odd combination for a group of papers on the history of the two and their relations with each other to 1795.

This volume is a product of a conference held in Kraków from September 15 through September 17, 2005. The general reaction to the idea when first broached of bringing together people working on the history of the two countries indicates how counterintuitive such an effort is. Many people thought that there would not be enough scholars and enough issues to generate anything of substance. Earlier efforts of comparison represented by a collection of papers in a weighty volume such as that by Danish scholars with the addition of two English colleagues on *Britain and Denmark Political, Economic and Cultural Relations in the 19th and 20th Centuries* were possibly not widely known.¹ Also more recent periods of history may seem better candidates for productive examination of two states in tandem. Regions closer culturally and linguistically and geographically may appear more likely targets as well. Clearly in the popular imagination and among scholars and even among

¹ Sevaldsen, ed.

historians the idea of there being features in common in the histories of Poland and Britain or that the two had much to do with each other before 1800 seemed to most just simply preposterous.

Despite that widespread image of two countries at different ends of almost any spectrum, the to-date short twenty first century suggests that looking at the two in combination may be productive. Comparative history can be and is almost invariably constructive. Choosing the right comparison is not always easy. In the case of Britain and Poland the existence of such a large number of scholars from across Europe, North America and Australia of different ranks, institutions, and with varied backgrounds who are working, in one way or another, on questions to do with Poland and Britain suggests that this comparison has the potential to be valuable. The scope and quality of the papers in this volume indicate what has already been done but as much or more what can and should be done to expand knowledge of the past of both countries and of Europe by looking at the two together. The papers in this volume suggest how the study of contacts between and comparisons of Poland and Britain do belong as part of larger and even more general projects of both European and comparative history.

In the European Union early twenty-first century Britain and Poland flank Germany, the largest and most prosperous of Europe's states. The two are on the outside or even on the periphery of a Europe centred, as it long has been, in the Rhine Valley and across the broad plain running from Potsdam to Paris, from the Oder to the Loire. The two states are full members of the European Union and certainly more than makeweights but they do not find themselves at the centre of the confederation. They both came late to membership, each for specific reasons and those reasons have left them with residual ties outside the union. That is only the start of the dissimilarities of the two states.

Of course, there are many significant features which separate Poland and Britain. It is the dramatic otherness that becomes obvious in anything from a superficial to a deep examination of the two. That is the source of scepticism about the enterprise which is central to the undertaking represented by this volume. Most of the differences are obvious even to a casual observer visiting the countries for the first time. Britain is post-industrial and increasingly so while Poland is still heavily agricultural. Britain is a monarchy. Poland is a republic. In Britain farms are large and growing in size. In Poland farms are typically small. Population densities in Britain are higher than in Poland since British population is significantly greater and Polish land area is

greater. Britain has a bigger economy and higher income per person. Britain has many universities, some organized in colleges. Poland has fewer and larger and exclusively urban ones. Even in sport, there are differences with cricket and rugby hardly known in Poland and hockey and skiing marginal in Britain. If there is one thing they have in common it is that both countries are football mad.

If the list of contemporary differences appears to be endless, the differences historically seem if anything even greater. The end date chosen for this volume dramatically demonstrates how distinct the two were. 1795 may in fact be the real reason people laugh at a comparison of Britain and Poland. The circumstances of the two countries at the end of the eighteenth century are dramatic evidence of the divergent paths the two followed. At that time Britain was involved in a long war which it not only survived but also won and, as a result, was able to dominate European politics for a century or more. Britain retained an empire which stretched throughout the world. Britain was able to finance the long wars and imperial expansion through growing government income generated from a rapidly increasing population and even more rapidly expanding economy. The military and political successes of the eighteenth century produced British nationalism, though it might at times be only thinly veiled English nationalism. There was a sense of a superiority in the system of government and type of society that had emerged in Britain, one perhaps most forcefully expressed by the Irish immigrant to England, Edmund Burke.² In sharp contrast the end of the eighteenth century saw Poland disappear as a political entity. The Third Partition erased Poland from the map of Europe. Various partially independent surviving forms of a Polish state finally vanished in 1831. The disappearance of the Commonwealth was taken both inside and outside the country as evidence of the failure of the political system, as evidence of the long term failure of Polish politics.

Britain had created at the end of the eighteenth century a unity within her borders with a ruling class committed to the success of the state. Poland had allowed overmighty subjects to tear the state apart, act in their own interests, and allow foreigners to manipulate the national government. Britain had developed a system of representative government that could and did govern effectively. The Polish Parliament, the

² Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 145–85.

sejm, was a standard example of how representative institutions could not work. Contemporary writers on politics might see similar roots and structures in the two but by the eighteenth century, though there was still mutual interest, the perception of the other in both cases had changed, the result of the divergent paths of the two.³ In many parts of Britain and especially in the most populous parts the economy had been transformed from one based on serfdom in the high Middle Ages into one of largely free workers who were mobile and could seek higher incomes. Poland had imposed serfdom and peasants were treated a bit, but only a bit better than slaves. Britain had exploited successfully the growth in seaborne trade over the preceding two centuries. Poland had an economy still tied to the land and devoted almost completely to agriculture. Even in agriculture, Britain was much more efficient than Poland and the gap was widening at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴ British society was open to immigration and novelty. Polish society was suspicious of foreigners and minorities within the borders. Above all Britain was a great if not the great power of the nineteenth century and during the same century Poland hardly existed politically. Since the political outcome was entirely different for the two the presumption very often is that the two were quite different in other and possibly all other aspects. Britain and Poland seemed, as shown by comments on everything from parliaments to manners in the eighteenth century, worlds apart. Later historians have typically taken the same view. The two polities in 1795 were at opposite ends of the European spectrum, geographically, politically, economically. It did not take and has not taken much of an effort to conclude that such had been the case for a long time and perhaps always.

That impression is a false one. It does not take adherence to post modernism to realize that points of view matter. Historians have typically looked back in time seeking the roots of the differences, and especially the political differences, so obvious in 1795. The comparison of the situation of the two in the years around 1800 has generated differing and contrasting views of their histories. The general tendency of historians to look back at the past in order to explain the present rather than to deal with the past on its own terms is all too obvious in the way Poland and Britain have been treated. The result has been a concentra-

³ See Healy's, Gromelski's, and Rundell's papers.

⁴ Allen, "Economic structure," pp. 1–26.

tion on certain features of history and especially of Polish history. The result has been to ignore many parts of the past for the two countries from the early Middle Ages down to the nineteenth century. There is a lurking prejudice against exploring where the two were alike. It is of course easy and valid to seek points of difference between Poland and Britain but it is also valid to seek points of connection and similarity. While the latter may be a tough task, still it can be done. The papers in this volume explore the known and suggest other possible connections and similarities. Poland and Britain exchanged goods, knowledge, people, and culture in the centuries before 1795. Poland and Britain were both very much part of Europe and so shared in major cultural, political and economic movements from the Middle Ages through to the French and Industrial Revolutions. Almost naturally, once part of the Latin Christendom which was a defining feature of Europe the histories of the two had to have some parallels over the centuries to 1795. Those similarities and connections are often ignored because the two are thought to be so different and this volume proposes that the time has come to explore what the two had in common rather than accept the assumption that they were completely different.

The September 2005 conference at the Jagiellonian University grew out of discussions held in the United States about the potential for exploring contacts between the kingdom of Poland and the kingdom of England in the later Middle Ages. The relationship had received little or no attention in the past so the expectation was that a small enterprise, involving a very few people working on the histories of the two kingdoms, would be able to fill any gap in knowledge. Those expectations were dashed and this volume is an indication of how wrong the predictions were.

With the assistance of Jan Woleński, at that time a fellow of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, contact was made with historians at the Jagiellonian University. Subsequently Jakub Basista generously volunteered to act on behalf of the Faculty of History. He took responsibility for organizing all aspects of the meeting in Kraków, publicised the event, and secured a site for the meeting and logistical support from the University. At the urging of Polish historians the scope of the project was expanded both geographically and chronologically. The period was extended from the Middle Ages down to the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century and, logically, the Poland under consideration became Poland-Lithuania and England became Britain. Jakub Basista as the Polish organizer and I set out to

find contributors to the meeting and were gratified to find large numbers of people working in a field which, at least at the outset, hardly seemed to exist. Responses came from political, economic, social and cultural historians living in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, Sweden, the United States, Ireland, Scotland, England, and Poland. The range of papers proved wide, the depth of interest great.

The organizers, Jakub Basista and I, are grateful to the De Brzezic Lanckoroński Foundation, Kraków Technology Park, the Faculty of History and to the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University for their generous support of the conference. The two day meeting proved highly productive and it was universally agreed that the proceedings of the conference warranted publication. Contributors accepted an early date for submission and work proceeded slowly toward completion of the volume. The organizers had hoped that Richard Butterwick would be able to participate in the conference but prior commitments made it impossible for him to be in Kraków in September of 2005. He did kindly agree to contribute comments on the papers and assess the results of the effort, his observations and reflections on the general field of study appearing as the foreword to this volume. Publication has been made possible by financial assistance from the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University in Poland which has continued its support and from the Grabowski Fund in Britain which has ensured that the volume retains the scope of the conference. The editors, Jakub Basista and I, are also very grateful to Anna Belogurova for her unstinting and seemingly endless work which brought consistency and reliability to the many different citations from a great variety of sources. In addition we do thank the contributors to the volume for their patience and commitment to the successful completion of the enterprise from inception to completion.

There are some very serious problems with doing comparative history. It seems impossible to win. There will always be errors, oversights, mistakes, since even the best of historians can not be as expert as they should be in the history of two cities, regions, countries, or empires. In the case of this volume each of the contributors and the editors face problems created by their own limitations. Undoubtedly in examining the similarities of the two countries some have gotten both big things and small things wrong and both for Poland and for Britain. Experts will be able to say, with cause, that details, and in some cases not even details, of the history of one or the other country have been glossed

over and so information which would demonstrate differences between the two, information which would undermine claims of similarities is left out. Valid criticism of the general claim of the volume and about specific comparisons there is and will be. There is more to the history of the two countries, however, than just knowing and showing that Roman Catholic agrarian continental Slavic-speaking Poles are different from Protestant commercial maritime insular Germanic-speaking Britons. The central goal of the contributors and the editors is not so much to establish certainties as to suggest that an open mind be kept in matters to do with Poland and Britain before 1795. The purpose is to have people think in terms of how the two countries are the same and of how they may not be so different as has always been assumed.

The papers in this volume chronicle more than analyse the performance of the two states. They do not consider the geographical and economic expansion of Europe beginning at the end of the fifteenth century which eventually placed Britain at the centre of an emerging global economy. Instead they concentrate on the place of Britain and Poland in Europe. They see the two countries as states on the periphery of Europe, facing the problems of frontiers and of consolidation as well as the challenges of populations with varied roots and cultures. They do not assume or take uncritically the divisions promoted by nationalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but rather understand both countries as diverse ethnically, religiously and culturally, constantly having to deal with what such diversity implied. The roots to similarities are seen to be in the Middle Ages and the manifestations of those similarities are seen to continue, aided by diverse and continuing contact with, among others, each other down through the seventeenth century. Even if Britain and Poland were similar they were never the same, nor were they ever equal. Geography if nothing else made sure of that. Seeing common attributes serves not only to identify features that were widespread in Europe but also reduces the concepts of their own uniqueness held in both countries already in the eighteenth century and certainly by no means exhausted in the twenty first. Seeing, for example, not how the two states differed but instead how each viewed themselves and each other, above all politically, proves the value of comparison. Valuable too is examining how actions which might appear to be similar proved to have different roots.⁵ Even if attributes in two

⁵ See Koutny-Jones's paper.

places, and in this case Britain and Poland, varied dramatically, even if the comparison appears preposterous the act of examining the two generates advantages in understanding each and both. If this volume succeeds in doing that to any degree the participants will all know that the exercise was worthwhile.

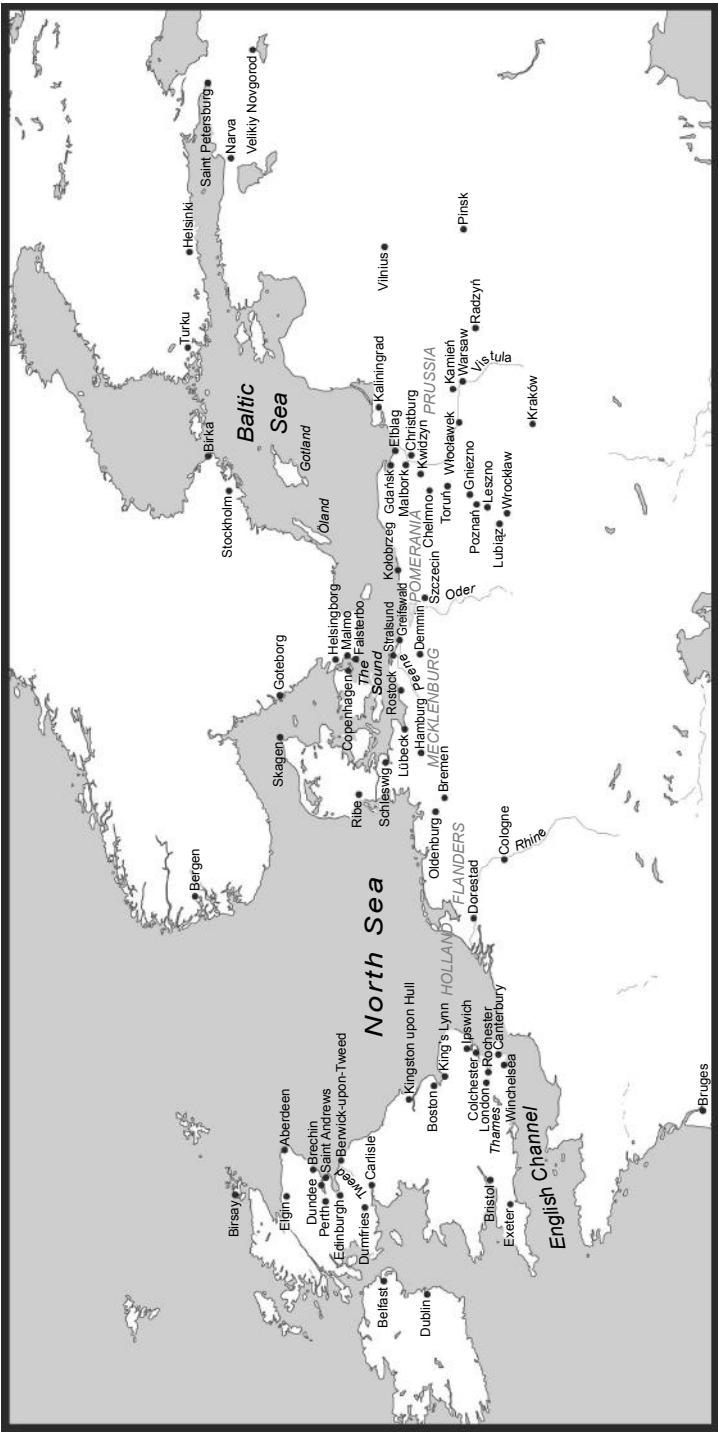
The editors understand that, as with any exploration of dimensions of history not given pride of place in the past, reactions can and will be ones of disinterest or even disdain. Critics can, and with cause, dismiss such efforts as foolish and by definition inconsequential. That may be the fate of study of contact and comparisons between Poland-Lithuania and Britain up to 1795. This volume does demonstrate that there is a great deal to be said and that needs to be said. It does show that comparisons, though seeming at first blush to be illogical, can be highly productive. A central argument that informs all the papers is that even though Poland-Lithuania and Britain were both part of an emerging and evolving European culture the unique conditions in the two parts of the continent meant that they shared similar developments in different spheres at different times over some seven centuries. If this volume opens the door to further work, to further exploration of contacts and comparisons between Britain and Poland-Lithuania then Jakub Basista and I and the participants will have accomplished as much as they could have hoped. If not then the volume will stand as an indication of what can be done when unlikely connections are suggested and what can come from looking at histories in a different and unexpected way.

Richard W. Unger

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Aberdeen City Archives
ACL	Louise B. Taylor ed., <i>Aberdeen Council Letters</i> , vol. 1 (1552–1633), London: Oxford University Press, 1942.
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych
<i>Album</i>	<i>Album armorum regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec.: Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.</i> , ed. Barbara Trelińska, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, 2001.
APG	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsk
AmKr	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie
BGPAN	Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk
Bibl Czart	Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków
Bibl Ossol	Library of the Ossolineum, Wrocław
BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków
BL	British Library
BUWr	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office...</i> , London, 1892–1900.
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office...</i> , London, 1891–1901.
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, domestic series...</i> , London, 1875–86.
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries in northern Italy</i> , London, 1864–1947.
DD	<i>Diplomatarium Danicum</i> , Copenhagen, 1938–.
H.M.S.O.	Her[His] Majesty's Stationery Office
HR	<i>Hanserecesse</i> , Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage..., C. Koppman <i>et al.</i> , eds., Leipzig, 1870–.
HU	<i>Hansisches Urkundenbuch</i> , K. Höhlbaum <i>et al.</i> , eds., Halle, 1876–.
Kórnik	Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN
LICC	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Akta miasta Krakowa, Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis

LICC I	Aniela Kiełbicka, Zbigniew Wojas eds., <i>Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1507–1572</i> , Kraków: Secesja, 1993.
LICC II	Kiełbicka, Wojas eds., <i>Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611</i> , Kraków: Secesja, 1994.
LVIA Kieydany	Evangelical Reformed Church of Kieydany Archive (Lietuvos Velstybes Istorijou Archyvos, Vilnius).
MPH	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki dziejowe Polski</i> , A. Bielowski <i>et al.</i> , eds., Kraków, 1864–93, reprinted Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960–1. New series, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1946–
MPV	J. Ptaśnik, ed., <i>Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana</i> , 8 vols., Cracow: 1913–50.
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OiRwP	<i>Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce</i>
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk
PRO	The National Archives, Public Record Office, London
PSB	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> (Polish Biographical Dictionary), ed. Emanuel Rostworowski, Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Historii, 1978–1985.
PUB	<i>Pommersches Urkundenbuch</i> , Szczecin, 1868–.
Rolls	<i>Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols., Rolls Series 67, Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1965.
SpCBB	<i>Birth Brieves from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1637–1705</i> , in: <i>The Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> , ed. John Stuart, V, Aberdeen: printed for the Club by William Bennett, 1841–1852.
SRP	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , T. Hirsch, M. Töppen and E. Strehlke, eds., Leipzig, 1861–1874.
SSNE	Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean, <i>Scotland, Scandinavia & Northern Europe, 1580–1707</i> , http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne
TNA	The National Archives, London
VL	<i>Volumina Legum: przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do roku 1782, wydane</i> . Vol. 1–9. ed. Jan Ohryzko, Petersburg, 1859–1889.



Map of Northern Europe

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FOREWORD

TAKING STOCK—LOOKING FORWARD

Richard Butterwick

This collection, the first extended attempt to compare and link the histories of Poland and Britain until the end of the eighteenth century, should go some way to confound the sceptics referred to in the preface. Points of similarity and difference both emerge, as might be expected from the shared experience of the principal trends of European history, such as the Renaissance and Enlightenment, in contrasting geographical situations in the northeast and northwest of the European peninsula.

Differences emerged at an early stage. The lands that would later become England, Wales and southern Scotland were conquered by Rome. On the other hand, Britannia remained a peripheral Roman province, while Caledonia and Hibernia were never conquered at all. The lands that later became Poland remained far from the sway of Rome, except for trade along the Amber Route to the Baltic shore. In the great migration of peoples out of central Asia that followed, the British Isles were a destination, not a temporary halt. The ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons and western Slavs swept into their respective lands only after the Roman tide had ebbed. Celtic civilization and culture survived in the western and northern parts of the Atlantic Archipelago, but not on the banks of the Vistula, Oder and their tributaries. Christianity spread among the Celts just as it was being displaced in the lands seized by the pagan Germanic invaders, leaving the Anglo-Saxons to be Christianized by papal missionaries after 597. Perhaps a partial analogy might be sought in the ephemeral influence of the Byzantine Christianity preached among the western Slavs—perhaps including the Vistulian tribe whose territory centred on the citadel that became Kraków—by Saints Cyril and Methodius a century or so before Poland's official 'baptism' into Latin Christianity, via Czech intermediaries, in and after 966.

By the late tenth century, 'England' had emerged as a precociously unified kingdom with a burgeoning vernacular literature. Its far-famed wealth attracted Nordic raiders, until in 1066 one group of adventurers, the Normans, subjugated the Anglo-Danish realm and went on to

establish a still more centralized and efficient monarchy. A vernacular English literary culture would resurface, as a hybrid, in the fourteenth century, when it was accompanied by an aggressive nationalism.¹ For the High Middle Ages, similarities are best sought between the more marginal realms of Poland and Scotland. Differences certainly emerge from the comparative survey of English and Polish urban development undertaken by Derek Keene. The economic expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is considered for Poland and Scotland in a rounded way by Richard Oram, puncturing the myth of Cistercian pioneers cultivating the wilderness, while the comparable political crises of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Scotland and Poland are illuminated through the prism of relations with the papacy by Sarah Layfield.

Despite their later starting point, as part of international Latin Christendom, the Poles did experience some phenomena similar to the English. One such was in the respective cults of Saints Stanislaus of Szczepanów (†1079) and Thomas à Becket (†1170). Again, however, the far greater political significance of the English realm is confirmed by Becket's rapid canonization in 1173. Stanislaus had to wait until 1253. But while the virtues celebrated by the hagiographers, and the challenges presented to preachers mindful of royal authority were strikingly similar, Stanislaus' cult had a dimension missing in England. The miraculous reunion of the saint's dismembered body symbolized hopes that the Polish kingdom would be reunited from the growing number of duchies into which it had been divided since 1138. With the metropolitan ecclesiastical province of Gniezno the sole institution shared by the Polish lands, it is difficult to overstate the role of the Church in keeping the 'Polish idea' alive in the thirteenth century.² Polish national feelings were strong enough among the elite, and xenophobia sufficiently virulent among the urban plebeians to give the potential for a nation-state, at least once vernacular literature had come fully into its own in the sixteenth century. The course of fourteenth-century politics decided otherwise.³

¹ Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State*; Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, chs. 1–2. Here I beg to differ with Nils Hybel below.

² See Stanka Kuzmová's paper.

³ Wyrozumski, *Historia Polski*, pp. 137–38. Samsonowicz, "Do roku 1506," pp. 82–97. The case for early senses of nationhood in medieval Europe is made persuasively by Zientara, *Świat narodów europejskich*.

The gap between England and Poland in terms of power, population and wealth closed during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Polish kingdom was first consolidated under Casimir the Great (1333–70) and then in 1386 entered a long-lasting dynastic union with its eastern neighbour, the vast and expansive Grand Duchy of Lithuania. England, weakened and depopulated by plague until well into the sixteenth century, would wait until 1603 for an analogous dynastic union with a still smaller and weaker Scotland. Parliamentary unions followed in 1569 and 1707 respectively. The Lancastrian Dual Monarchy of England and France (inaugurated in 1422, but lost between 1429 and 1453) proved still more ephemeral than the Jagiellons' rule in Hungary (1440–44, 1490–1526) and Bohemia (1471–1526). By the later fifteenth century, Poland-Lithuania cut a far more impressive figure in central and eastern European politics than England in western Europe, and their relative significance was not to be reversed until the 1650s, and not definitively until the 1690s.

The Jagiellonian dynasty lacked their Piast predecessors' hereditary right to rule Poland. The kingdom's political structures and culture matured as kings sought partners in the nobility, especially when their native Lithuania faced a severe challenge from Muscovy at the turn of the fifteenth century. The English Parliament had emerged earlier, in the late thirteenth century, but had developed more slowly and intermittently. Even so the political culture and institutions of sixteenth-century Poland and England were in many respects comparable.

Socio-economic structures diverged, but in the sixteenth century at least, the rural population generally lived no worse in Poland-Lithuania than in the British kingdoms. The nexus of dependency known as serfdom weakened in England in the wake of the depopulation wrought by plague, yielding to a great variety of tenancies, whereas in Poland it intensified as agriculture prospered. On the other hand, landholdings in Poland remained larger and the burdens were still manageable. As the lot of the Polish peasantry worsened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries however, England forged ahead agriculturally, and the socio-economic gap became a chasm.⁴

Closer comparisons for later centuries might be sought among the impoverished Irish peasantry. After the Tudor, Cromwellian and

⁴ See Piotr Guzowski's paper.

Williamite interventions in Ireland had largely replaced the Catholic Irish landowning elite with Anglophone Protestants, the Gaelic Irish peasantry was religiously and culturally alienated from their landlords. A similarly combustible situation prevailed in the Ruthenian lands which made up more than half of Poland-Lithuania. Peasants spoke dialects which would later form the basis of Ukrainian and Belarusan, and retained their attachment to Eastern, Slavonic Christianity, even if most came to belong to congregations which formally acknowledged papal authority. Most nobles, however, preferring the Polish language, and forsaking their ancestral Orthodoxy for Protestantism or Latin-rite Catholicism, treated the Uniate Church contemptuously. Polish peasant settlers, on the other hand, were absorbed into village society, attended the local church, and swiftly 'ruthenized'. In both Ireland and the Ukraine, religious and social grievances interacted, magnifying tensions and breeding hatred.

Most medieval immigrants to Polish towns had come to adopt the Polish language by the fifteenth century—a process simplistically dubbed 'polonization'. But the growth of a self-confident and culturally Polish urban estate was arrested as the numerous nobility arrogated a political monopoly and economic privileges to themselves. The private towns which they founded, especially in the eastern marches of Poland-Lithuania, tended to be dominated by Jewish settlers who tended to be more malleable subjects than Christian burghers. In contrast, towns with royal charters maintained their political status in England and Scotland. Jewish settlement was permitted by Cromwell's regime, lifting the prohibition of 1290 essentially for millennarian reasons, but the number of British Jews did not approach the Jewish population of the Polish-Lithuanian lands until the Holocaust of the Second World War.

The chief cities which flourished in Poland were in Royal Prussia. The Teutonic Order, invited by a duke of Mazovia to fight the pagan Prussian tribes, overstayed its welcome, and established rule in the Pomeranian lands at the mouth of the Vistula. These territories did not form part of the partial reunion of the Polish kingdom in the early fourteenth century. As the towns of Gdańsk (Danzig), Elbląg (Elbing) and Toruń (Thorn) grew and flourished, so their elites and much of the population became increasingly Germanophone, although of course, bi- and multi-lingualism were common. Gdańsk became a veritable

metropolis, far outstripping Kraków.⁵ The dominance of the German language in no way prevented these cities and much of the secular knighthood from rising up against the Teutonic Order and requesting union with the Polish kingdom in 1454. Eventually, in 1525 the Prussian lands were divided between Royal or Polish Prussia to the west, and Ducal Prussia to the east, a secularized fief of the Polish Crown after the dissolution of the *Ordernstaat*. The Royal Prussian elites always insisted that their province was in voluntary union with the Polish Crown, and not subjected to it. Modern ethnic categories of Polishness and Germanity cannot capture the nuances of Prussian concepts of citizenship and patriotism.⁶

The first exchanges between the British and Polish lands were economic. It is not clear when they started, but until the twelfth century they were limited, mostly conducted by German and Danish intermediaries. Four essays in this volume consider the important commercial contacts between England and Poland in the later Middle Ages and sixteenth century. In general forest products, including some fully built ships, and increasing quantities of grain went west, cloth came east. English cloth was traded as far south as Kraków, while English merchants, organized in the Eastland Company between 1579 and 1698, ventured far beyond their headquarters in Elbląg. Scottish traders ranged still more widely. Nevertheless it needs to be emphasized that most commercial exchanges were mediated by the Prussian cities. When trade expanded massively in the fourteenth century, these cities were not part of the Kingdom of Poland at all, balancing between the Teutonic Order and the Hanseatic League.⁷ In the course of the seventeenth century, the Dutch took over from the Hansa and the British in the Baltic trade, and at the same time Polish magnates began to import large quantities of oriental luxuries by sea, rather than overland.⁸ In the eighteenth century, however, British ships largely replaced Danish, Hanseatic or

⁵ See Derek Keene's paper.

⁶ See Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*.

⁷ See the papers by Nils Hybel, Wendy Childs, Maryanne Kowaleski and John Fudge, and also Postan, "The economic and political relations," pp. 91–153; Zins, *England and the Baltic*, pp. 54–133, 239–40; Carter, *Trade and urban development*, pp. 143–51; Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, pp. 383, 413, 437–39; Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan foreign trade*, pp. 47–48. I owe these and the following reference to the kindness of Richard Unger.

⁸ Christensen, *Dutch trade to the Baltic*, p. 361.

Dutch vessels, as British demand rose for both naval stores and grain from the Baltic. Almut Hillebrand's contribution shows that Gdańsk continued to dominate Polish-British trading links in the eighteenth century. By that stage, Britons, both Scottish and English, had a significant presence on the Baltic shores.

Despite a much smaller population on the island of Great Britain, the Scots greatly outnumbered the English in Poland-Lithuania. Three papers reflect the ambivalent relationship between Scottish migrants and their hosts. On the one hand, these numerous outsiders were feared as both a commercial and religious threat, and the stereotyped Scottish peddler was often bracketed with the 'wandering Jew'. The perceptions studied by Arthur Williamson are both confirmed and confounded by the statistical analysis carried out by Waldemar Kowalski and Peter Paul Bajer. On the other hand, more fortunate Scots entered the ranks of urban citizens, and some, of plausibly noble birth, were even admitted to the Polish-Lithuanian *szlachta*. They often intermarried, especially the Catholics. A descendant of the Gordons of Huntly was even elected king of Poland in 1764.

At least until the later eighteenth century therefore, most of the contact between Poland and Britain came either via the predominantly Germanophone Prussian cities,⁹ or via Scottish migrants, or through both channels. This fact must have influenced the perception among the Poles and English alike that their countries have had little to do with each other in the past. The Prussians fit especially awkwardly into an ethnically conceived narrative of the Polish nation.

Diplomatic and military connections between Britain and Poland are indeed rarely encountered in the annals, although opportunities for research are not exhausted. The episode included in this book, analysed by Paweł Rutkowski, is one of the exceptions that proves the rule. James VI and I wished to contribute to the reconciliation of Christendom and its defence against the Turk by supporting Poland-Lithuania at a critical moment in 1621. But the king was at odds with virtually all of his advisers, and the venture proved, from his point of view, an expensive and embarrassing failure. Poland-Lithuania and Britain interested each

⁹ In the later fourteenth century, much knowledge came through the participation of English knights and their retinues in the Teutonic Order's expeditions, something unlikely to induce sympathy for the Lithuanians and Poles. See Wendy Childs's paper.

other principally as the allies of allies, or the foes of foes, and then only intermittently. That did not change even when the first permanently manned missions in Warsaw and London were established in the later eighteenth century.¹⁰ Christendom, moreover, was past reconciliation, as was also shown at the ‘charitable colloquium’ sponsored by King Vladislaus IV in 1645.¹¹

The impact of the Reformation yields comparisons as well as contrasts between Britain and Poland-Lithuania. Initially, both polities showed a degree of moderation in dealing with allegations of witchcraft, attributed to a reluctance to embrace religious extremes by Brian Levack. In both cases, the outcome of the contest between Protestants and Catholics long remained in doubt. Religious contacts between Britons and Poles were frequent and varied, especially among Protestants. But this very confessional aspect ensured that when Catholics became persecuted in Britain and Protestants marginalized in Poland-Lithuania, the opportunities for intellectual intercourse shrank, leaving a poisoned legacy of hostile stereotypes, of ‘fanatics’ and ‘heretics,’ which reached its zenith in the early eighteenth century.¹² The role of religious exiles, for example Scottish Catholics in Poland-Lithuania, in shaping and perpetuating these perceptions calls out for further investigation. One of the best known influences is that of the Polish Brethren (Arianists, Socinians), expelled in 1658. Exiled himself in the Netherlands in the 1680s, John Locke encountered them, and, to judge from the contents and marginalia in his library, was influenced both by their antitrinitarian theology and justification of religious toleration.¹³

It would be useful too, to have more detailed studies of the stages by which the mutual incomprehension and hostility of the early eighteenth century became the mutual sympathy of the 1790s.¹⁴ This too was an assymetric process. With the spread of “enlightenment” (*Oświecenie*) the Poles became increasingly Anglophile, as Dariusz Rolnik’s analysis of memoirs shows. ‘England’ was seen as a model for Poles to follow,

¹⁰ See Libiszowska, *Misja polska*.

¹¹ See Dziegielelewski, *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych*, pp. 141–60.

¹² See Beata Cieszyńska’s paper, and also Król, “Anglia wobec wydarzeń toruńskich.”

¹³ See Jan Woleński’s paper, and also Hans, “Polish Protestants and their Connections.” The research of Wojciech Kriegseisen has revealed some connections, e.g. “Karol Gotfryd Woide,” and “Podróże i projekty pastora.”

¹⁴ I make some far from conclusive suggestions in *Poland’s Last King*. See also the remarks of Zofia Libiszowska, “Model angielski w publicystyce polskiego Oświecenia.”

a moving goal, with which they sought to catch up. For the nobility, Anglophilia was usually filtered through French *Anglomanie*, not least via French translations of English literature. It was often, as in the fashions for English carriages and English gardens, shallow. The Germanophone patriciate of Royal Prussia encountered more Britons at first hand. This *bürgerlich* Anglophilia was grounded in centuries of commercial contacts. Unsurprisingly, knowledge of the English language was more widespread among Danzigers than Varsovians.¹⁵ Perhaps the unusually direct and profound Anglophilia of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was not coincidental with the fact that he spent the first seven years of his life in Gdańsk. The long-standing British consul, Archibald Gibsone, evoked his memories of the new king as a boy in his letters of congratulation upon Poniatowski's election.¹⁶

In return, British travellers and commentators tended to condescend. They applauded the Constitution of 3 May, 1791, not least because, in Edmund Burke's words, it was "founded on similar principles towards the stable excellency of a British constitution." This praise came in the context of a contrast between the Polish and French Revolutions, strongly in favour of the former.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the change of tone was dramatic, exemplified by the contrasting reactions to the First and Second Partitions in 1772 and 1793 respectively.¹⁸

Polish orators and statesmen were delighted with such praise. Reverend Michał Karpowicz, preaching in his own parish church on the banks of the river Niemen, claimed: "that zealous English republican, Mr *Burke*, could hardly find suitable words, in lauding this law [the constitution] before all of Europe."¹⁹ Besides the purpose of the sermon which was to persuade the local *szlachta* to swear an oath to maintain and defend the Constitution of 3 May, two aspects of the quotation require further comment. First, Poles and Lithuanians tended to call the Scots, Welsh and Irish 'English'. In a not dissimilar way, 'Poland' was used as a shorthand for the polity founded in 1569: the

¹⁵ See Almut Hillebrand's paper.

¹⁶ A. Gibsone to Stanislaus Augustus, 12 Sept. 1764, 13 Oct. 1764, Stanislaus Augustus to Gibsone, 19 Sept. 1764, AGAD Zbiór Popielów MS 176, fols. 272–74.

¹⁷ Burke, *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, London: J. Dodsley, 1791, pp. 102–104, repr. in Davies, "The Languor of So Remote an Interest," p. 90. See Libiszowska, "Edmund Burke a Polska."

¹⁸ Horn, *British Public Opinion*. Libiszowska, "Prasa i publicystyka."

¹⁹ Karpowicz, *Kazanie*, p. 164.

Commonwealth of the Two Nations, Polish and Lithuania, which in fact contained many more than two nations.²⁰ Second, the use of the word ‘republican’ (*republikańt*) speaks of a common heritage in political culture and political institutions, that long antedated the influence of the British model on the Constitution of 3 May.²¹

As Tomasz Gromelski shows, the English and Polish elites in the sixteenth century shared similar concepts of the body politic—the ‘commonwealth’ or *rzeczpospolita*—which were both translations of *res publica*. And in neither case was the concept of *res publica* held incompatible with the institution of monarchy. Both polities were considered mixed forms of government: *monarchia mixta*, which combined the advantages of forms in which power was held by one, few or many. These were reflected in the ideas of sovereignty being vested in the ‘King-in-Parliament’ consisting of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and the corresponding idea of the three estates of the *Sejm*, that is King, Senate, and Chamber of Envoys.

On the spectrum of early modern polities, both states were far-removed from arbitrary or despotic government. Even the fearsome ability of the Tudor monarchs to eliminate particular opponents was not matched by any instrument of wider coercion. Government depended upon at least the tacit consent of social elites.²² England, apart from the mid-seventeenth-century interlude of “the Commonwealth,” was always the more monarchical, Poland the more republican, especially after the establishment of an elective monarchy that followed the extinction of the Jagiellons in 1572. The unsatisfactory experience of Cromwell’s protectorate meant that only a small minority of the English political nation endorsed an elective monarchy and still fewer a kingless republic. Polish noble citizens, on the other hand, increasingly proclaimed that they lived under a “republican form of government” (*rząd republikański*), in which the noble nation as a whole was sovereign and the monarch an emanation of that sovereignty. And yet, until the eighteenth century, the languages and concepts of politics remained strikingly similar. As Benedict Wagner-Rundell points out, the similarities included strong streaks of Providentialism. Both nations cast themselves as a new Israel, God’s chosen people. Paradoxically, this very symmetry impeded

²⁰ Kamiński, *Historia Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 10–11.

²¹ Cf. van Gelderen and Skinner, *Republicanism*.

²² A point emphasized by Adam Manikowski, “Anielskie paradoksy.”

mutual respect. These exclusive claims to Divine favour made it more difficult emotionally to recognise the other's liberty. Poles and Britons were more likely to point to the other as a warning of a liberty that had been corrupted.

Even when English political culture saw an updating of the discourses of virtue and patriotism as Britain embarked on her course towards a debt-financed worldwide empire, within decades some Poles, gathered around Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, had followed suit. The answer to the corrupting potential of commercial modernity was seen in politeness. Alongside and then in place of the Polybian and Aristotelian *forma mixta*, both cultures came to conceive of the polity in Montesquieuvian terms: legislative, executive, and judicial powers. It was this vision which was explicitly endorsed by the Constitution of 3 May, 1791, along with the republican and Rousseauvian proviso that all power derived from the will of the 'nation'. In place of the old struggle *inter maiestatem ac libertatem*, the legislature and executive were strengthened simultaneously, and the king, whose throne would become hereditary, was apotheosized as a symbol of national unity, the 'Father of the Fatherland'.²³ A similar transformation affected George III, especially after his recovery from mental illness in 1789.²⁴

The political and constitutional gap with Britain was narrowing fast as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth approached its climactic end. A similar vision of liberty founded on the personal security of every inhabitant of the country was spreading alongside the conviction that such liberty could only be secured in a "free state" where citizens or their representatives participated in the making of laws.²⁵ But the desperate insurrection led by Tadeusz Kościuszko diverted the trajectory of Polish political culture away from the British.²⁶ The heroic but doomed rising of 1794 begat a cult of insurrectionary and sacrificial republicanism which provided for a temporary "dictator" in the ancient Roman sense. The title was bestowed on Józef Chłopicki in the rising of 1830–31 and Romuald Traugutt in that of 1863–64. Józef Piłsudski, who in 1918 had taken the same title as Kościuszko,

²³ See Lukowski, "Recasting Utopia"; Butterwick, "Polite Liberty"; and Butterwick, "O ideologii krajowej i dworskiej."

²⁴ Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, ch. 5.

²⁵ The Polish concept of liberty is magisterially explained by Grzeszkowiak-Krwawicz, *Regina libertas*.

²⁶ Rostworowski, "Czasy saskie," p. 370.

that of *naczelnik*—head or chief, and in 1920 saved his country if not Europe from the Red Army, showed his impatience with the quarrels of parliamentary democracy in his coup of 1926. Nearly two decades after Poland's recovery of independence from Soviet imperial hegemony in 1989/90, the ideal of a unanimous national will continues to bedevil Polish politics.²⁷

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain avoided any comparable experience of foreign domination, and the uncomfortable political and moral dilemmas it brought. Poland's political trajectory after the Second Partition of 1793 diverged from Great Britain's but again converged with Europe's Celtic margin. It was broadly comparable to that of Ireland. The analogy of Poland as England, Lithuania as Scotland, Ukraine as Ireland (with Belarus, perhaps, as the North of Ireland), Red Ruthenia (otherwise known as eastern Galicia) as Wales, hitherto plausible,²⁸ is blown off course along with the French ships that sailed for Ireland in 1796. Had the troops they were carrying landed in Bantry Bay then, or had the United Irishmen by some chance succeeded in 1798, then revolutionary and Napoleonic France, victorious against Britain, might conceivably have played a comparable part in Irish history to tsarist and especially Soviet Russia in Ukrainian and Belarusian history. As it was, it was left to Wolfe Tone to compare the Irish republican cause to the Polish republican cause, and himself to Kościuszko. Russia's role in Poland could now be compared to that of Britain in Ireland. Irish nationalists pointed out the incongruity of British liberal sympathies with the Polish cause in the nineteenth century. In any case, despite herculean labours by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and others, the sympathy of British liberal opinion did not translate into diplomatic pressure for Poland's restoration.²⁹ The mid-twentieth century saw, for the first time, substantial numbers of Poles settling in Britain, following Poland's struggle as Britain's ally in the Second World War, and the resumption in Soviet guise of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pattern of Russian hegemony. For the most part, the immigrants avoided the

²⁷ On this ideal see Walicki, *Trzy patriotyzmy*, pp. 10–41. The opinion on contemporary Polish politics is my own.

²⁸ Royal Prussia and Courland, with their Germanophone elites, are harder to match.

²⁹ See Żurawski vel Grajewski, *Działalność księcia*; Żurawski vel Grajewski, *Wielka Brytania*; Marchlewicz, *Polonofil doskonaly*; Lewitter, "The Polish Cause."

kind of hostile stereotyping faced by seventeenth-century Scots, and integrated more or less harmoniously into British society.³⁰

It is Róisín Healy's paper which points beyond this volume into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Apart from most of Ireland, 'Britishness' survived the rise of modern ethnic nationalisms much longer than the composite and civic 'Polishness' of the Commonwealth. Poland could have no equivalent to the global empire, or even the more modest subsequent role as a world power, which have delayed the break-up of the United Kingdom into the twenty-first century.

It remains to make some further suggestions for Polish-British research. Most dramatically, the mid-seventeenth-century crisis and civil and foreign wars that afflicted both Poland-Lithuania and the British kingdoms in the 1640s and 1650s awaits an extended comparison. Both the 'British' framework and the 'provincial' school associated with John Morrill could inspire an analysis of the situation in Poland-Lithuania during the Khmelnytskyi (Chmielnicki) revolt and the Swedish 'Deluge'. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in turn, could provide a point of reference for the British constitutional experiments of the interregnum. Even before the outbreak of civil war in England, it would be instructive to compare the anxieties felt by English country gentlemen about the Stuarts with those felt by their Polish counterparts about the Vasas. This was also a period of heightened religious tension in both England-Scotland-Ireland and Poland-Lithuania-Ukraine, inviting further comparisons.

The comparative approach to religious and ecclesiastical history adopted here by Richard Oram, Sarah Layfield, Stanka Kuzmová, Brian Levack, and Benedict Wagner-Rundell could be extended. Why, despite the prestige of John Wyclife, did England resist Lollardy and Poland Hussitism? Was the increasing tolerance of each other's dominant religion in the late eighteenth century, noted by Dariusz Rolnik, the result of a rejection of revealed religion, inspired by a radical and rational Enlightenment, or was it rather the effect of a pervasive mind-set of the here and now rather than the transcendental, of a secularity which permeated religion? Denunciations of freethinkers and French philosophy in both countries might indicate the latter. Hume and Locke, however, were generally excepted from such censure in Poland. Locke,

³⁰ Among a substantial literature, see Sword *et al.*, *The Formation of the Polish Community*; Habielski, *Polski Londyn*; Chojnacki, *Gmina Polska*.

especially, influenced Polish pedagogy, and even helped to immunize most of the Polish academic establishment to Kant's philosophy until the first decades of the nineteenth century.³¹

The history of gender offers great opportunities, some of which are signalled in this book. Brian Levack's comparison of responses to witchcraft deals with women, but does not make a gendered comparison. Aleksandra Koutny-Jones mentions the far lesser degree of orientalization of dress among Polish aristocratic ladies than among their English counterparts. Much could be gleaned from a comparison of women's roles in politics. Less so, perhaps, from the queens. Poland had no equivalent queens regnant to Mary I, Elizabeth, Anne, or Mary Queen of Scots. The heiresses Jadwiga of Anjou and Anna Jagiellonka were married off as soon as possible, and their husbands, Jogaila/Jagiełło and Stephen Batory respectively, became kings so the situation was analogous to Mary II and William III. Poland was famed, however, for two politically powerful queens consort, first Mary Ludovica de Gonzaga, wife first of Vladislaus IV Vasa and then of his brother John Casimir, and second Marie-Casimire d'Arquien, wife of John III Sobieski. Poland was famed still more for political patronesses and cheerleaders among the aristocracy. The apogee of their influence came at the end of the Commonwealth. Princess Izabella Czartoryska might instructively be compared and contrasted to Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire. Both, for example, were devotees of Rousseau, and prided themselves on their patriotism.³² Was the elite of British society more patriarchal in its culture than its Polish-Lithuanian counterpart? What were the effects of laws of inheritance and wardship? What of more humble women? Maria Bogucka's pioneering work, available in English, lends itself to comparisons.³³

The barrier of the Polish language remains a formidable hurdle for most Anglophone scholars. Britons and North Americans were relatively few in number at the first Congress of Foreign Scholars of Polish History, held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków, in June 2007. However, excellent work such as that of Piotr Górecki, Francis W. Carter, Paul W. Knoll, Robert I. Frost, Karin Friedrich, Andrzej Sulima

³¹ See the paper by Jan Woleński.

³² Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*; Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*.

³³ Bogucka, *Women in Early Modern Polish Society*.

Kamiński, and Jerzy Lukowski,³⁴ as well as Poles contributing to collections published abroad, such as the two edited by Samuel Fiszman,³⁵ and also a number of translations into English,³⁶ offer foundations to readers without a reading knowledge of Polish. A much larger bibliography could be compiled than the contents of these footnotes. The history of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian lands is especially well served in English.³⁷ *Lithuanian Historical Studies* has for a decade fulfilled an analogous role to *Acta Poloniae Historica* in providing translations of current research. It has to be said, however, that the quality of many translations into English leaves much to be desired. The ambitious programmes of the Institute of the Book (Instytut Książki) and the newly founded Museum of Polish History (Muzeum Historii Polski) should help to promote the work of Polish historians abroad.

Polish historians tend to be better equipped linguistically to cope with British history than vice versa, but are sometimes held back by the limitations of Polish libraries, and the cost of extended research visits. Exchange schemes such as those between the British Academy, the Royal Irish Academy, the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences are used assymmetrically. However, work on Britain by historians including Anna Kalinowska, Jakub Basista, Piotr Robak, Andrzej Krzysztof Link-Lenczowski, Mariusz Markiewicz, Józef Andrzej Gierowski, Grzegorz Chomicki, and Paweł Hanczewski deserves to be brought to wider attention through the publication of more articles placed in English-language journals.³⁸

³⁴ E.g. Górecki, *Economy, Society and Lordship*; Carter, *Trade and Urban Development*; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*; Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*; Frost, *After the Deluge*; Frost, "The Nobility of Poland-Lithuania"; Frost, *The Northern Wars*; Kamiński, *Republic Versus Autocracy*; Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*; Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland*. For earlier generations, see Wacław Hubert Zawadzki, "Historycy brytyjscy o Polsce."

³⁵ Fiszman, *The Polish Renaissance*; Fiszman, *Constitution and Reform*.

³⁶ E.g. Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians"*; Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*; Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*.

³⁷ Apart from the journal *Polin*, major works and collections include: Eisenbach, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland*; Hundert, *The Jews in a Polish Private Town*; Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania*; Paluch, *The Jews in Poland*; Polonsky et al., *The Jews in Old Poland*; Rosman, *The Lord's Jews*; Teter, *Jews and Heretics*.

³⁸ E.g. Kalinowska, "Król, faworyt, dwór"; Basista, *Anglia, świat i gwiazdy*; Link-Lenczowski, "William Prynne i Żydzi"; Robak, *William Penn—reformator i polityk*; Markiewicz, *Polityka gospodarcza i społeczna*; Gierowski, "Anglia wobec konwersji królewicza"; Chomicki, "Dyplomatyczne reperkusje konwersji"; Hanczewski, *Dyplomacja brytyjska w Europie*.

Britain, Ireland, Poland, and Lithuania are now, through membership of the European Union, the opening of labour markets, cheap travel and instant communication, far closer to each other than they have ever been in the past. This has brought tensions, for example in the stag-parties which blight Polish and Lithuanian cities, reinventing the inglorious traditions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁹ But on the whole this unprecedented mutual knowledge has served mutual understanding. With both Britain and Poland currently experiencing something of a vogue for history, the opportunity exists to further the understanding of the past, including the more distant past. From a vantage point in 2008, the prospects for the mutual illumination of Polish and British history have never been brighter.

³⁹ See John Fudge's paper.

PART I

THE MIDDLE AGES

CONTACTS

EARLY COMMERCIAL CONTACTS BETWEEN ENGLAND, PRUSSIA, AND POLAND

Nils Hybel

From the second half of the fourteenth century commercial contacts between Poland and England are rather well recorded, and have been studied by historians since the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ Before 1350 the history of Anglo-Polish commercial relations are more obscure because the sources are sparse. Neither have they been subject to as much research as the more plentiful sources from after 1350. Examining the early epoch of trade relations between the two regions shows that it is not altogether a dark history. But before searching the early beginnings of commercial contacts between Poland and England it is appropriate to reflect on what is meant by Poland and England in the context of the period prior to 1350. History is in principle an anachronistic enterprise, and the more so when modern concepts are used as methodological guidelines. Poland as well as England are in historical perspective plastic concepts. Even in the Middle Ages, when they came into being, they were variable. Both concepts are therefore in the medieval meanings of them very unwieldy analytic categories and establishing rational geographical frameworks for either of the two is a difficult task.

In the eighth century the west Slavic tribe *Polanie* lived in Wielkopolska around the river Warta, a tributary of the Oder. According to tradition this tribe, under the rule of the Piast dynasty, in the tenth century founded a realm about the size of modern Poland. The first prince who appears in the sources was Mieszko I. In 966 he accepted Christianity and two years later established the bishopric of Poznan. Soon after in 1000 the Polish church was placed under its own archbishopric at Gniezno. The first king of Poland was crowned in 1025, and in the course of the next centuries monasteries were established and the number of bishoprics and churches increased.

¹ Hirsch, *Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte Danzigs*, pp. 97–116; Horn, “Alt-England und Alt-Preussen,” 1, pp. 63–72; Höhlbaum, “Preussen und England,” pp. 167–173; Friedrich Schulz, *Die Hanse und England*, p. 1; Jenks, *England, Die Hanse und Preussen*.

The coherence and strength of Polish central power is, however, disputable. Violent pagan resistance and competition between claimants to authority characterized the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Polish kingdom was eventually fragmented into smaller semi-independent realms in 1138, and further weakened after the invasion of the Mongols in 1241. The Prussians, inhabiting territories on the Baltic north of Polish realms, were especially obstinate. They successfully resisted repeated attempts to subdue and convert them until the thirteenth century. The Prussians early came in contact with Christianity. About 997 the Czech bishop of Prague Wojciech-Adalbert died a martyr in Prussia. The mission in Prussia was taken up again in the middle of the twelfth century. In 1141 the Pope gave the Moravian bishop Henry permission to preach the gospel to the heathen Prussians, but he had no success, and in 1166 the Polish prince Henry was slain in an attempt to subdue the Prussians.² About 1200 monks from Łekno in Poland began a mission, and from 1217 to 1223 Pope Honorius III and the missionary bishop Christian of Prussia made efforts to organize crusades against the Prussians. The efforts were futile and followed by devastating heathen retaliation.

As a consequence Conrad, the duke of Mazovia, sent for the Teutonic Knights. They began at the Polish fort of Chełmno in 1230. The captain of the knights, Hermann Balk, concentrated efforts along the Vistula, and in his first expedition in 1231 he secured the river above Chełmno by building a fort at Toruń (Thorn), a central point on the waterways into central Poland. The following year he pushed north-east of Chełmno to found new forts at Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) and Radzyń (Reden). From Kwidzyn the knights went north and founded Elbląg (Elbing) in the delta of the Vistula and Christburg on Lake Dzierzgoń east of Kwidzyn. By 1239 a garrison at Balga, thirty-five miles north-east of Elbląg, was established, and two years before the Order had taken over large areas of Livonia. After setbacks in the 1240s and the early 1260s the German Order completed the conquest of Prussia in 1285. The chief forts such as Kaliningrad (Königsberg) in the 1260s and Kwidzyn and Malbork (Marienburg) in the following century were rebuilt as brick and stone castles. The order controlled the waterways and, most important the trade route out of central Poland by the

² *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, I.1, nos. 1–3; Rhode, *Geschichte Polens*, p. 49.

Vistula, and the principal trading centres: Toruń, Elbląg, Kaliningrad and Gdańsk, the latter from 1308.³

Thus substantial parts of contemporary Poland were under Teutonic Rule from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Therefore, it is an anachronism to include Prussia when detecting the early beginnings of commercial contacts between Poland and England. Prussia will, however, be embraced because it was precisely contacts between Prussia and England which were the first between the areas of today's Poland and England. They were contacts between independent localities and localities under rule of the Teutonic Knights and England, rather than between the medieval Polish kingdom and England.

Pomerania east of the Oder was conquered by the Polish King Boleslaus I Chrobry around 1000, but from 1181 to 1637 eastern Pomerania was part of the German duchy of Pomerania. After 1181 it is therefore perhaps even more an anachronism to include eastern Pomerania than Prussia. Some of the most important Baltic trade centres were established in eastern Pomerania before 1000. Consequently by Poland until 1181 is meant the area of modern Poland within the borders of 1945. After 1181 the territories of eastern Pomerania are excluded from the discussion.

Poland in the Middle Ages was a kingdom of varying size, coherence, and strength in which national identity and nationalism as a mass ideology did not exist. In the twelfth century, however, national notions began to appear. The main concern for the Danish chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, in his *Gesta Danorum* from c. 1200 was for example to promote the idea of the unity of dynastic kingship and *natio*—the people united by language, history and culture.⁴ Saxo's work expresses the ideological side of the eventual unification of the territories of the Danes under one king, that is the creation of the Danish medieval kingdom. Similarly Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century created a myth about the origin of England. The ultimate unification of England took place in his time and inspired not only Geoffrey's national myth, but also his story of the division of Britain. The national myth helped to create a national identity and forged the connection between kingship and nation. Thus in the thirteenth century Edward I made use

³ Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 104–109; Cieslak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 39–69.

⁴ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*.

of national identity to promote his own political ambitions emphasizing that he, the king, and the country had common foreign political interests in conquests.⁵

While nationalism in the modern sense as a mass ideology did not exist in the Middle Ages, nationalism developed as an elite ideology from the twelfth century. Beginning in Edward I's time English chroniclers agreed that England was destined to rule all of Britain, but despite Edward I, no unitary monarchy of the orbit of Britain emerged in the Middle Ages. Great Britain as a political union did not exist. England was, however, an empire. The Norman kings did not merely unify England. They also created a cross-Channel political unity. At the start of the fourth quarter of the twelfth century this unity covered continental possessions from Dieppe in the north to Bayonne in southwestern France together with parts of Ireland and Wales.⁶ The continental parts of the realm were lost over a long time span from King John (1199–1216) to the end of the Hundred Years War (1453).

It would be meaningless to include the continental parts of the Anglo-Norman empire here since the erosion of the empire had begun long before 1350, and because the empire did not exist when contact with Poland began. England did not exist at that time either. The date of the unification of England is disputable. According to tradition it happened when the Norwegian Viking King Eric Blood-Axe was driven from Northumbria and killed (954), but it was hardly a permanent unification, if at all. Adding the very complicated power relationships as well as inclusive and exclusive political structures between England and Ireland and Wales during the Middle Ages it seems rational to conclude that both England and Britain in the medieval meaning of the concepts are rather unhandy analytical categories. Therefore England will be used in the modern sense of the word well aware that it is in the present context indeed an anachronism. In other words the geographical framework of the following search for the earliest Anglo-Polish commercial contacts are the territories of twenty-first century England and Poland excluding eastern Pomerania after 1181.

Archaeological excavations prove that the commercial centre Wolin, on the left bank of the Dziwna close to the coast of the Baltic Sea, developed from the beginning of the ninth century. Soon after the

⁵ Stampe, *Nationalisme i middelalderens England?*

⁶ Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles*, pp. 20–49.

settlement was fortified, and a rich commercial life developed side by side with crafts of various kinds. The earliest archaeological finds in Kamień (Kammin) have also been dated to the ninth century, while the origins of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) and Szczecin (Stettin) can be traced further back in time by archaeological evidence. In the ninth century they both bore the signs of early urban settlements enclosed by walls. The remains of Truso have on the other hand not yet been found by archaeologists. This settlement is only known from written sources.⁷ Treasure finds from the ninth century at the mouth of Vistula do not prove the siting of Truso. In this area traces of urban settlements cannot be found before the rise of Gdańsk in the second part of the tenth century.⁸

These early Polish settlements were components of a Baltic network of trading centres which included among others Birka on Lake Mälaren in Sweden, Gotland, Oldenburg and the Obodrit settlement Reric. The latter together with the merchants living there was reportedly moved in 809 by the Danish King Godfred to Sliestorp—Hedeby (Haithabu)—on the east coast at the base of the Jutland peninsula.⁹ This Baltic world of commerce was related to trading systems in other parts of the world. Gotland was the Baltic centre of the trade with Russia, Byzantium, and the Arab world, but the gateway to Russia and the Orient, Novgorod, could also be reached by sea from Oldenburg. In the late eleventh century the chronicler Adam of Bremen claimed, that “it is a fourteen days’ sail” to cover the distance.¹⁰ In the far western end of the Baltic Sea the Hedeby-Hollingsted passage at the neck of the Jutland peninsula was the gateway to the North Sea and the Channel world with trading centres like Quentovic near Etaples, Dorestad in Frisia, Ipswich in East Anglia, and Hamwich close to Southampton.

In the second part of the ninth century, according to the Old English Orosius, the explorer Wulfstan reported to the English King Alfred about his voyage from Hedeby to Truso in Prussia.¹¹ This is the first evidence of Anglo-Polish contacts. There is, however, no evidence of commercial relations between England and Prussia at that early date. If trade existed between England and the Baltic region before 1000 it

⁷ *The Old English Orosius*.

⁸ Leciejewicz, “Die Entstehung der Küstenstädte zwischen Oder und Weichsel.”

⁹ *Annales Regni Francorum*, V.

¹⁰ *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 67.

¹¹ *The Old English Orosius*, p. 16.

was hardly direct. Goods were probably transmitted between England and the eastern parts of the Baltic via north German and Danish markets and towns from a very early date, but no evidence of direct traffic exists.

The communication between Denmark and England on the one side and Denmark and the eastern Baltic on the other definitely went on for some centuries before 1000. Ribe on the west coast of Jutland from the eighth century was the northernmost Frisian town with contacts to Norway and the Baltic, but it was also the Jutland gateway to western Europe.¹² Hedeby and later Schleswig was from the Viking Age a nexus of northern European trade. Situated on the east coast of Jutland it was a centre of the transit trade between the Baltic and the North Sea until the Lübeck-Hamburg axis took over in middle of the thirteenth century.¹³

Adam of Bremen in the second part of the eleventh century gave a detailed description of the destinations which could be reached from Schleswig, mentioning the Prussian peninsula of Semland as one the places ships sailed to from there. From Schleswig, "which is also called Hedeby" Adam explains, one could also get to the great trading town Jumne-on-sea. "From that city it is a short passage in one direction to the city of Demmin, which is situated at the mouth of the Peene River," Adam continues. When talking about Jumne he is presumably referring to Wolin. He also claims that ships sailed from Schleswig to Greece. Either he is referring to the Nordic route to Byzantium via the Russian rivers, or he simply mistakes Russia for Greece. Adam of Bremen also claims that Jumne was "a widely known trading centre for the barbarians and Greeks who lived around about." He also reported the sailing time from Ribe to England via Flanders and to other western European destinations.¹⁴

English coins from the twelfth century found in Estonia possibly reflect early Anglo-Baltic commercial relations via these trade routes. Those contacts are also suggested in *Leges Anglorum* by the appearance of the term *Guti* probably meaning people from that important commercial

¹² Nielsen, *Middelalderbyen Ribe*.

¹³ Eriksson, *Hedeby, en sohandelsstad i vikingetiden*; Hammel-Kiesow, "Lübeck and the Baltic Trade"; Berggren *et al.*, *Cogs, Cargoes, and Commerce*, pp. 53–91.

¹⁴ *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, pp. 66–67, 186–88.

stronghold in the Baltic, Gotland.¹⁵ However, no archaeological or written sources explicitly bear witness to indirect or direct trade between Poland and England before the thirteenth century.

The first documentary evidence of Danish merchant ships and Danish merchants in England is from 1208 when King John ordered his bailiffs in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall to arrest all ships except those coming from Denmark and Norway. The next evidence is from 1220 when Henry III commanded the keeper of the market in Lincolnshire to confiscate merchandise of Danish merchants as security for goods belonging to merchants from London seized in Denmark. Thus, these documents also indicate the presence of English merchants in Denmark in the 1220s. Royal privileges granting safe conduct and the right to trade in England for Danish merchants were issued in 1221, 1223, 1224, and 1226. An arrested ship belonging to the merchant from Ribe, Rikwin, was released by Henry III in 1224, and in 1242 the king instructed his treasurer to release Danish merchandise on a ship in Rochester.¹⁶ In 1240 the English king fitted out a ship bound for Denmark, and in the same year he sent a man to Denmark to buy falcons.¹⁷ About ten years later the Lord Mayor of London declared free trade in London and the rest of England for Lübeck merchants after 100 marks sterling had been paid to two London merchants as compensation for the theft of their goods and the violent abuse they received in Copenhagen.¹⁸ Anglo-Danish commercial relations are convincingly proven by a number of documents from the first half of the thirteenth century.

The earliest documentary evidence of Danish-Prussian trade is somewhat later. In 1294 the Danish King Erik Menved declared that the confiscation of goods belonging to the Teutonic Order in Copenhagen had not taken place at the request of Lübeck. The following year the captain of the Order in Prussia wrote to Rostock, Greifswald, and Stralsund, that he had addressed the Danish king and impressed on him that the merchants' privileges should be enforced and further that if they were not the Prussian towns were ready to join the Wendish towns

¹⁵ Molvôgin, "Grundzüge der Zirkulation," pp. 95–95; *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, p. 658.

¹⁶ DD, 1.4, nos. 138, 144; 1.5, nos. 170, 195, 215; 1.6, nos. 18, 20, 21, 61; 1.7, nos. 101, 102.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 1.7, nos. 45, 63, 68; He did the same thing in 1278. *CPR, 1272–1281*, p. 263.

¹⁸ DD, 2.1, no. 43.

against the king. Judged from this correspondence Prussians merchants had frequented Danish ports and markets from a much earlier date.¹⁹

Truso in Prussia was known to the English King Alfred in the ninth century, and this town together with Wolin, Kołobrzeg, Kamień, and Szczecin were parts of the Baltic trade system linked to the North Sea and Channel worlds through the Hedeby-Hollingsted link and alternatively through the *Ummelandsfahrt* via the Danish sounds, the Kattegat, and round the Skaw into the North Sea in the west. Evidence of Danish ships, merchants, and goods in England are available from 1208, and there is indication of English merchants in Denmark from the 1220s. On the eastern side the presence of Prussian merchants and merchandise in Denmark are indicated from the second half of the thirteenth century. At the close of that century Danish-Prussian trade relations had developed to such an extent that the Prussian towns enjoyed commercial privileges in Denmark on equal terms with the Wendish towns. Thus there is every probability that Denmark was a transit market for Anglo-Polish commodity exchange in the thirteenth century and beyond.

After the founding of the German-Prussian towns in the 1230s indirect commercial contacts between Poland and England via the Wendish towns are perhaps even more plausible. Lübeck merchants were granted general trading privileges in England in the middle of the thirteenth century, and so were Hamburg merchants.²⁰ In 1266 the merchants from Hamburg were granted rights equal to those of Cologne who had obtained their first English privileges in 1157. In the following year merchants from Lübeck were given the privilege of forming a *Hansa* of their own in England.²¹ German merchants from Hamburg and Lübeck, the two crucial towns in the transit trade between the Baltic and the North Sea region, had a strong foothold in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, that is after the Lübeck-Hamburg axis had taken over from the Hedeby-Hollingsted link in the transit between the Baltic and the North Sea.

On the eastern side Lübeck played an important role in the creation of the coastal Prussian towns—in particular in the foundation of Elbląg. As a result the town was granted Lübeck law in contrast to the rest of the Prussian towns which were under Kulmer law.²² Lübeck was prob-

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 2.4, nos. 141, 164.

²⁰ DD, 2.1, no. 43; CPR, p. 155.

²¹ HU, I, nos. 633, 636.

²² Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, p. 34.

ably also a commercial mediator between the kingdom of Poland and England. Lübeck merchants can be detected in England down through the thirteenth century and in 1298 Vladislaus Łokietek, the future King of Poland and Pomerania, promised merchants from Lübeck protection and safe conduct in his lands as well as on the river Vistula, and in Gdańsk. The following year Lübeck obtained commercial privileges from the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.²³ Pomeranians seem also to have been involved in the indirect trade between Prussia and Flanders and England. This is indicated by a case from 1293 about Pomeranians abuse of an Elbląg merchant trading on the river Vistula. By that time grain exports from Stralsund to Flanders and England had been going on for decades. A charter issued by Wisław II of Rügen and Stralsund in 1278 refers to an ancient custom in this traffic.²⁴

Lübeck was important too in the development of direct trade between Prussia, Poland and the West. Thus, in 1280 Toruń thanked Lübeck for the defence of its citizens travelling to Flanders under the rules which applied to German shipping to Flanders. The town declared it agreed on the terms of shipping set by Lübeck with respect to Flanders.²⁵ Likewise Chełmno thanked Lübeck for helping and protecting its citizens when they traded in Flanders.²⁶ Merchants from Prussia called regularly at Bruges and Haderwijk from the last decades of the thirteenth century. Lübeck and the Prussian towns were addressed by Harderwijk in 1300, and Lübeck and Toruń jointly addressed the council in Harderwijk in 1307. The connections between Prussia and the Low Countries in thirteenth century and around 1300 either via the Baltic Sea or via Kraków are substantiated by several sources.²⁷

The Prussian towns seem not to have obtained general English privileges like the ones issued by Phillip IV the Fair in 1295 granting trade certification in Flanders to citizens of a number of German towns in the Baltic region including Elbląg.²⁸ This has probably to do with the *Carta Mercatoria*, and with the lag in trade relations between Prussia, Poland, and England behind the development of commerce between the Wendish towns and the West. In 1303 the English King Edward I in

²³ HU, I, no. 1287, 1301.

²⁴ HU, I, nos. 810, 1106; PUB, II, no. 1091.

²⁵ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch.*, I, 2, 1882, no. 383; HU, I, no. 864.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, no. 752.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 750; HU, II, no. 111.

²⁸ PUB, III, no. 1715.

Carta Mercatoria granted liberties to foreign merchants coming to England in return for an *ad valorem* customs duty payable on all merchandise exported from or imported to England by foreign merchants.²⁹

On the other hand the Teutonic Order seems to have early paved the way for commercial relations with England. Thus, in 1261 safe conduct was granted to Theodoric, precentor of the House of St. Mary of the Teutons in Prussia, coming to visit the English king.³⁰ Also the English kings continued to issue letters of protection and safe conduct in England after the *Carta Mercatoria*. Such letters addressed to Germans in the middle of the thirteenth century were either issued to specific persons or to towns such as Lübeck in 1269, 1275, and 1276, and Hamburg in 1252. From 1285 they were often simply issued to *Almain or all Germans* in 1293, 1308, 1327, 1337, 1338, 1341, 1342, 1344, and 1345.³¹ The Prussian towns were probably included in these privileges to Germans. Merchants from the Prussian towns were at any rate called German by the English authorities.³²

It can be proven that direct commercial connections between England and Prussia were established from the 1290s at the latest. In 1295 the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Conrad, contacted the English king, Edward I, concerning the robbing of two Prussian merchants in England.³³ Also the fact that in 1299 protection and safe conduct for one year were granted to Hermann de Brunneswyck of Prussia coming to England to trade with merchandise for one year proves direct Anglo-Prussian commercial contacts.³⁴ Commercial relations in the early fourteenth century are reflected by the detention in Boston of two merchants from Elblag in 1310.³⁵

After that though there is a no direct evidence of commercial contacts between Prussia and England until the beginning of the 1320s when Edward II granted the merchant Nikolaus Pape of Hamburg protection for one year because Nikolaus had promised the king to go to

²⁹ *English Historical Documents*, III, pp. 517–18.

³⁰ CPR, 1258–1266, p. 148.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 1247–1258, p. 1252; 1266–1272, p. 322; 1272–1281, pp. 83, 171; 1281–1292, p. 190; 1292–1301, pp. 9, 38, 63; 1307–1313, p. 73; 1327–1330, p. 17; 1334–1338, pp. 508, 520, 535, 536; 1338–1340, p. 26; 1340–1343, pp. 136, 146, 163, 511; 1343–1345, pp. 320, 432.

³² See for example note nos. 44, 45.

³³ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 2, no. 639.

³⁴ CPR, 1292–1301, p. 410; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 2, no. 710.

³⁵ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, II, no. 17; CPR, 1307–1313, p. 226.

Estland and Prussia to buy grain and other victuals for the king's men at war against the Scots.³⁶ This letter was issued on 21 March at the beginning of the season of grain importing into England in the year 1323. The period was one when Baltic grain imports to the English North Sea ports began to increase dramatically. It is possible to show that imports peaked in the next year, but the sources unfortunately do not allow following the subsequent trend in detail.³⁷ Grain imports into England continued, however, and Prussia and Poland were among the supplying regions.

The trade is documented by an interesting dispute about freight rates brought before the bailiff in Falsterbo, Scania, in 1327. The case is described in detail. It suggests that in the 1320s not merely Flanders but also western Norway, Scotland, and England had been supplied with Prussian and Polish grain for quite some time. A merchant, Hinricus Blake, presumably an Englishman, had freighted 39 lasts and nine barrels of rye on a ship belonging to two German skippers, Harbordus Hamer and Hinricus de Brema, bound for Bergen and had agreed to pay five *solidos grossorum* for their carrying the cargo. Moreover, it was, according to the skippers, agreed that if Blake eventually decided to have his cargo shipped to an alternative destination the freight should be fixed at the average of the highest and lowest freight other skippers had received. When they came to the Skaw Blake actually decided to take his goods to England instead. After arrival in England there was a disagreement about the freight rates, and Harbordus Hamer and Hinricus de Brema collected information about the rates from Toruń (Thorn) to England from other skippers. Later, during the trial in Falsterbo, two German skippers, Richardos Schonenberch and Nicolaus Detmar, testified about the freight rates from Toruń to Scotland and Flanders. It is noteworthy that during the trial the freight rate from Toruń to Bergen was not discussed at all, probably because it was a well-known market price fixed by regular shipping. The dispute was about the freight rate on rye from Toruń to England, which the parties were not quite familiar with, but the freight rates from Toruń to Scotland and Flanders were, on the other hand, known to other skippers.³⁸ Presumably the rates from Toruń were well known because it was the gateway to Poland and

³⁶ CPR, 1321–1324, p. 266; *H.U.*, II, no. 399.

³⁷ Hybel, "The grain trade," table 1, fig. 1, pp. 231, 235.

³⁸ DD, 2.9, no. 447; *H.U.*, II, no. 467.

Toruń merchants had access to Polish markets thanks to guarantees of safe conduct there granted to them by various Polish leaders. In 1318 the captain of Poland, Stefan Pancaucus, for example issued a letter of safe conduct to the citizens of Toruń.³⁹

Continuing trade between Prussia and England is indicated by an English letter from 1331 concerning subsidies from ships trading in Prussia.⁴⁰ So does the release of six ships from Kaliningrad in 1339 on the grounds that “they frequently have supplied the realm of England with merchandise.”⁴¹ The following year harassment of an English merchant during his stay in Kaliningrad, where he bought goods at a total value of £ 200, is reported. In return the English king ordered the bailiffs in Lynn to detain merchandise belonging to Prussian merchants.⁴² Two years later in 1342 the mayor and bailiff in Lynn were ordered to release detained Prussian and Dutch ships loaded with grain.⁴³ In 1344 the bailiffs in Boston were instructed to hold back German ships loaded with grain and other merchandise and one of these ships belonged to a merchant from Kaliningrad.⁴⁴ Again in 1348 the bailiffs in Boston were instructed to keep back goods from German merchants. Among them were two merchants from Kaliningrad and Gdańsk. The German merchants had allegedly attacked the English merchant William de Lythnay’s ship *Godewyn* near Ravenser on the coast of Yorkshire. The ship carried wheat, rye, furs, and wax.⁴⁵ The cargo represented the typical export articles from Prussia and Poland to England and the rest of western Europe, that is with the exception of one group of items: timber and forest products like tar, pitch, and ashes. During the fourteenth century ships from the ports of Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Kaliningrad brought increasing quantities of forest products to England. The Baltic forests of Poland and Livonia were supplying the widest range of wood from the most expensive of good size and quality for building and ship-building, to the cheapest, for making barrels. Among the cheapest were among others Elbing boards. The import of timber to England can be traced back to the thirteenth cen-

³⁹ HU, I, no. 328.

⁴⁰ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, p. 63, b.

⁴¹ CCR, 1339–1341, p. 262.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 345; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, III, no. 289.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, no. 496.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, no. 667.

⁴⁵ *Urkunden der Stadt Königsberg*, I, no. 40; CCR, 1346–1349, pp. 519–521.

ture. Imports were never really large scale because England was not particularly short of forest products in the Middle Ages. Until the first decade of the fourteenth century Norway seems to have been the chief exporter of timber to England, but some time after 1310 the balance of such shipments turned in favour of Baltic supplies.⁴⁶

A swing can also be detected in the grain trade from and to the English North Sea ports. In the years 1308 to 1309 and in particular after the reintroduction of the "new custom" in 1322 the balance of the trade shifted from export to Norway to import from the Baltic. The east-west grain routes were established on a regular basis c. 1300. Grain deliveries from Pomerania and Mecklenburg to western Europe seem to have been usual in the second half of the thirteenth century and shipments from the upper Vistula bound for England, Norway, and Flanders can be identified from the first decades of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Various documents from the 1340s show that the export of Polish grain to England continued throughout the following decades.

The export of furs and wax from Poland to western Europe are for example reflected in the letter issued by a member of the town council in Toruń, Johan Steinweg, in 1349, and sent to his brother-in-law and agent, Gotho de Monte, in Bruges. The document reports the kinds of goods traded, their value, payment for loading, freight, agent's fee and so on. In principle it is the information found in a modern bill of lading.⁴⁸

Cloth was overall the most important export article from the Netherlands and England to Poland. After the Treaty of Malbork in 1388 had brought an end to the Anglo-Prussian conflict, and raised the ban on trade, the export of English cloth increased. Between 1378/9 and 1390/1 2000 to 4000 pieces of English cloth was exported to the Baltic Sea annually.⁴⁹ This development indicates the importance of the Prussian market for English cloth exports. In the fifteenth century cloth was so firmly established as an article in English trade with Prussia that in Prussian-English correspondence in the years 1434–1447 it is repeatedly maintained that English merchants, either as citizens or as guests, had supplied Gdańsk and the surrounding area with cloth without any restrictions before Gdańsk was granted municipal rights by the

⁴⁶ Childs, "Timber for Cloth," pp. 181–211.

⁴⁷ Hybel, "The grain trade," pp. 219–47.

⁴⁸ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, IV, no. 453.

⁴⁹ Jenks, *Die Hanse und Preussen*, pp. 66–76.

Teutonic Order in 1343.⁵⁰ This assertion should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. England had little cloth to send directly to the Baltic in the early fourteenth century. Her main export was wool, which went to Flemish industrial cities where it was made into cloth and exported to the Baltic. But during the fourteenth century the English cloth industry expanded and the export of cloth rose rapidly.⁵¹ The right to trade with cloth and other merchandise given by King Casimir of Poland to Toruń in 1345 underlines the importance of cloth in the trade and indicates that the Prussian towns were important channels through which western European and especially English cloth reached Poland.⁵²

Cloth, timber and grain were probably also traded between Poland and England before 1300, but the trade in these basic products expanded massively in the fourteenth century. This expansion was the basis for Prussian merchants establishing themselves in England and English merchants doing the same in Prussia. A letter to the merchants of the Company of Prussia indicates that such an organisation was established in England in 1339, and it was apparently so important that a few years later in 1343 the company was accused of being detrimental to English merchants.⁵³ Prussian merchants even turn up as money lenders in the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus, in 1351 the English knight William de Kerdeston acknowledged that he owed Johan Rothembergh and Nicholas Styvenbergh, merchants of Prussia, £ 600 to be levied, in default of payment, of his land and chattel in Norfolk.⁵⁴ Likewise four Englishmen acquired citizenship in Gdańsk between 1370 and 1386, and they invited several other Englishmen as guests to do business in the town under their patronage.⁵⁵

Indirect Anglo-Polish commercial contacts beyond 1000 are plausible. The ancient Polish trading towns Wolin, Truso, Kamień, Kołobrzeg, and Szczecin were included in the Baltic network of trading centres with contacts to the North Sea and Channel and the Russian and Oriental trading systems. English coins from the twelfth century have been found in the eastern Baltic region, and there are indications of English merchants and merchandise in Denmark from the 1220s.

⁵⁰ Hirsch, *Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte Danzigs*, p. 98; Cieslak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, p. 40.

⁵¹ Childs, "Timber for Cloth," pp. 208–210.

⁵² HU, III, no. 59.

⁵³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, p. 103, b, 143, a.

⁵⁴ CCR, 1349–1354, p. 387.

⁵⁵ Hirsch, *Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte Danzigs*, pp. 98–99.

Evidence of Danish merchants and merchants from German towns along the Baltic coast visiting England can be found from around 1200. In the early period goods were probably traded indirectly between Poland and England and transhipped in Danish and Wendish towns. Either the goods went by sea on vessels sailing through the Danish Belts, the Kattegat and around the Skaw into the North Sea, or the goods were transhipped via Hedeby and Hollingsted across the neck of the Jutland peninsula. From the middle of the thirteenth century the Lübeck-Hamburg axis took over such overland transhipments. The earliest direct Anglo-Polish commercial contacts were established in the second part of the thirteenth century, and they developed on a regular basis during the first part of the fourteenth century. The import of Polish and Prussian grain, furs, wax, and in particular timber and other forest products like tar, ashes, and pitch increasingly supplied the English market and the expanding English cloth industry developed into an important supplier to Prussian and Polish markets. By 1350 the now well established commercial contacts between Poland and England already had a long history. They also had a long and bright future.

ENGLAND'S CONTACTS WITH POLAND-LITHUANIA IN THE FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Wendy R. Childs

England's information about Poland-Lithuania could come through several channels: ecclesiastical and university circles, trade, diplomacy, and military activity. Trade, the unifier of the Middle Ages, was probably always the main source of up-to-date information for the greatest number of people in the secular world, and intermittent links with the imperial court and a steady trickle of Englishmen joining the northern crusades brought further information. English awareness of Poland was probably at its medieval peak in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century: English merchants were pressing hard into the eastern Baltic, King Richard II married the daughter of the German Emperor, and the earl of Derby took small contingents to fight in Lithuania. This paper will therefore focus on this period, while setting it in a broader context.

Geo-political definitions are difficult, because, of course, England's direct trade connections were with Prussia, once part of Poland and to be so again from 1466, but for much of the later medieval period under the political control of the Teutonic Order. The Prussian towns, moreover, were dominated by the German Hansa. This explains the absence of references to Poland in England's mercantile sources at this time although England used plenty of Polish goods, especially timber and wax. The change of political overlordship in the fifteenth century increased the formal links with Poland, but probably made little immediate difference to the merchants since the kings of Poland delegated much of the regulation of trade to the ports. In 1470 Gdańsk found the king of Poland as willing to support its policies as the Master of the Teutonic Order had been.¹

This lack of mention of Poland is clear in a number of mainstream fifteenth-century trade records. For instance, the author of *The Libelle*

¹ Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 206; in 1499 however the king supported the request of Elbląg and Toruń for greater freedom for English merchants. *Ibidem*, p. 248.

of *Englyshe Polycye*, a polemic verse written about 1436 to encourage the English transport of English trade, discussed England's trading contacts at length, examining their benefits or problems for England. The author discussed Prussian trade, but made no mention of Poland. His long list of goods carried by Prussians included osmund, copper, bow-staves, steel, wax, furs, pitch and tar, boards, flax, Cologne thread, fustian, canvas, cards, buckram, and wedges of silver brought from Bohemia and Hungary.² These goods were obviously drawn from a wide hinterland, but the writer was primarily interested in who was transporting the goods, not in their origins. Just as the osmund was undoubtedly Swedish, so the timber and wax were undoubtedly predominantly Polish, although no reference was made to Poland.

Another verse on England's trade policy of about the same period, which extolled the importance of eastern European markets for the sale of woollen cloth, similarly ignored Poland. Its list of markets swept straight from Prussia, Bohemia and Hungary to Greece and Great Turkey.³ The *Noumbre of Weyghtes*, a mid-fifteenth century merchant handbook, which is full of detail on commodities and their measurement, also referred to most eastern goods as generically Prussian. Only on wax was the author a little more specific, mentioning Polish, Russian, and Prussian sources.⁴ Here at least there is an acknowledgement of Poland's existence, but clearly the filter of Prussian ports diminished English merchants' acknowledgement of the provenance of Polish goods.

These English records of the fifteenth century, so strongly influenced by current Prussian politics, are very different from both earlier and later documents, which fully acknowledged the kingdom of Poland. An example of an earlier document is the well-known Flemish list of commodities brought to Bruges. This list was compiled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and its information must have been shared by the English merchants who frequented Bruges at that time. The list gave full weight to the kingdom of Poland alongside those of Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany, and it provided a list of Polish exports at that time: gold and silver in plate, wax, furs

² Warner, *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, pp. 16–17.

³ Robbins, *Historical Poems*, p. 170.

⁴ BL Cotton Vespasian E.IX fos 86r–109r; this is printed in S. Jenks, "Werkzeug des spätmittelalterlichen Kaufmanns," pp. 283–319.

(vair and gris) and copper. At this date neither timber nor cereals was important.⁵

The mid-fifteenth century English descriptions are also very different from sixteenth century English discourses. By that time Prussia had returned to the Polish kingdom, the German Hansa had crumbled, English merchants were gaining access to the hinterlands, and by 1579 the English Eastland Company was established. Now the potential importance of Poland was fully acknowledged in English trade treatises and it regularly appeared in lists of overseas markets. William Cholmeley, writing in 1553, recorded how English cloth was a good exchange for commodities from Poland, Sweden, Russia and Pomerania.⁶ A little later, in 1577, a Mr Leake presented a treatise to Queen Elizabeth's Council, describing the poor manufacturing practices of English cloth-makers for markets other than the Low Countries; among the list of regular markets he referred to 'Danske, the Narue and two other places in Poland' as well as Lithuania, Finmark, Sweden, Norway, Muscovy, Spain, Portugal and Barbary.⁷ Even before then, in a book written in 1542 to describe the countries of Europe and their characteristics, Andrew Boorde gave a full description to Poland.

In his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* Boorde placed Poland, perhaps not entirely accurately, north of Bohemia and west of Hungary. He then wrote of its great forests and many bees and wild beasts; that it was fertile; that it supplied pitch, tar, and flax; that there were many towns, the best of which was Kraków. The people, he said, were homely in manners and fashion but crafty in their business dealings. There was poverty and poor food in some places. They ate much honey. They were peaceful and unwarlike. They dressed in the German fashion and spoke a form of corrupt German. Their money was gold and brass.⁸ The book was intended for the general reader rather than the merchant, but the emphasis on commodities and the reference to German influence suggests that his information may have come through the newly developing trading groups moving back into the Baltic in Tudor times. The further surge in English trade with the Baltic in the later sixteenth

⁵ The commodities of its neighbours were given as follows: Russia (wax, and furs), Hungary (wax, gold and silver in plate), Bohemia (wax, gold and silver '*en etain*'), Germany (Rhine wine, 'pois', ashes, timber, wheat, iron, and steel). Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancienne étable de Bruges*, pp. 19–21.

⁶ Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, III, p. 139.

⁷ *Ibidem*, III, p. 217.

⁸ Boorde, *Fyrst Boke*, pp. 168–69.

century brought even greater awareness of Poland's role. When Fynes Moryson travelled in the Baltic in 1593 English trade was again strong there. He described sailing from Denmark to Gdańsk, noted the continued German influence in Prussia, and was particularly impressed with the cheapness of Polish goods.⁹ His later descriptions of the lands he visited have been much quoted. On Poland he wrote that it:

hath some but very few mines of Gold and Silver It abounds with Hony It yeelds great quantity of Wax, Flax, Linnen cloths made thereof, Hemp, Pich of both kinds, Masts for shippes, Boards and Timber, rich Furres, Salt digged out of pits, Amber, Soape-ashes, and all kinde of Graine, especially Rye, which hath made Daniske famous.... Poland is all farre within land, excepting Borussia (vulgarly Prussen)... Poland aboundeth with the foresaid most necessary commodities, and the people live content with their owne; yet they are not rich, because they want the foresaid forraigne commodities farre brought, and so deare. And.... they sell all commodities at a most low rate.¹⁰

Although the merchants were more concerned with Prussian access points than inner Poland, the kingdom of Poland was of course perfectly well known to the English royal court. Cultural connections were quite strong in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. On the fashion side it is interesting that the long piked shoes of the fourteenth century were described as *crakows* in England in 1367.¹¹ If such shoes were introduced to England and France from Kraków, then it is an interesting comment on the connections of courts and the spread of fashion, but it is also possible that this indicates that Poland was seen as a strange and exotic country. The *Travels* of the fictional Sir John de Mandeville, which appeared in Europe in the 1350s and were widely read in England, mentioned Poland as north of Hungary (to which he devoted much more space) on the land route across eastern Europe to Constantinople and Jerusalem, a journey to the strange and exotic East.¹² Kraków might therefore have taken on an exotic tinge itself. Social connections with eastern Europe at the top political level were also particularly visible in the late fourteenth century with the marriage of King Richard II of England to Anne of Bohemia in 1382. Anne,

⁹ Moryson, *An itinerary*, I, pp. 128–39.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, IV, pp. 69–70. This is also cited in Hinton, *The Eastland Trade*, pp. 3–4.

¹¹ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://O-www.oed.com> accessed 05.04.2006, sub 'crakow'.

¹² *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, p. 45.

daughter of the Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, half-sister of his successor Wenzel, was the great-grand-daughter of Casimir III the Great of Poland (who died in 1370), through her mother Elizabeth of Pomerania, grand-daughter of Casimir and wife of the emperor. The marriage brought England close to central European affairs just at the time when the thrones of Hungary and Poland faced succession problems. Anne brought a small flood of Central European ladies and knights to England, some of whom were Polish or at least clearly had Polish connections. Among them, for instance, was Nicholas Ryvynes of Poland (de Polayn), who entered service with Richard II, and became a royal retainer and a king's knight. He married twice in England and made his career there. After Queen Anne's death in 1394 he remained in Richard's service, and after Richard's deposition in 1399 he continued to serve Richard's cousin and successor, King Henry IV.¹³

Henry IV may have been particularly sympathetic to Nicholas and other eastern Europeans at court because of his military interest in the northern crusades before he came to the throne. His first expedition into Lithuania, while he was still Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, was in 1390–1. He travelled from Boston to Gdańsk in July 1390 with a company of about 150 men: 11 knights, 27 esquires and over 100 servants, grooms and minstrels. They took part in the battle at Kovno and in the unsuccessful siege of Vilnius and returned to Gdańsk for the winter. He repeated the journey in 1392 with a company of around 200, but this time there was little to do. He dismissed most of his company at Kaliningrad and set off with a small party via Prague and Vienna for Venice and Jerusalem.¹⁴ English chroniclers were generally poor at recording European events other than the French wars and Church affairs. However, Henry's expedition of 1390 caught the chroniclers' eyes. Both the Westminster chronicler and Thomas Walsingham of St Albans Abbey reported Henry's deeds.¹⁵ They recorded that he joined

¹³ CPR 1388–92, p. 250; CPR 1391–6, pp. 72, 479, 574, 583; CCR 1389–92, p. 211; CCR 1399–1402, p. 226; CCR 1402–05, p. 443.

¹⁴ For the fullest examination of his journeys, see du Boulay, "Henry of Derby's Expeditions," pp. 153–72.

¹⁵ Hector and Harvey, *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394*, pp. 444–49; Taylor *et al.*, *The St Albans Chronicle*, I, pp. 902–903. Westminster was well placed for court news. St Albans Abbey, only about eighteen miles (29 km) from London on the main road to the north, also had strong connections with London and the court. The king and his entourage regularly stayed there when they travelled north. Walsingham was therefore also in a good position to obtain information from the courtiers about Henry's expedition.

King Wytot (Witold); defeated the army of the king of Lithuania called Skirgalle (Skirgailo); captured the town of Vilnius where the king of Lithuania lived; and killed another brother of the king of Poland (this was Jogaila's brother, Karigal), before withdrawing from the fortress of Vilnius after a five week siege.

The simplicity of the Baltic crusades against pagan Lithuania, had, of course, been upset by the union of Poland-Lithuania and the baptism of Jogaila, Grand Duke of Lithuania, on his marriage to Jadwiga of Poland in 1386. There was now no justification for the attacks on Lithuania. There is, however, no indication that the English chroniclers (or indeed the 'crusaders') yet realised anything of the religious change. Both chroniclers still saw events (wrongly) through the prism of the Baltic crusades, but their writing nonetheless shows that reasonably accurate knowledge of Polish-Lithuanian politics and personalities was reaching them, either through news-letters or eye-witness accounts from returning crusaders.¹⁶ Anne of Bohemia's entourage and Henry Bolingbroke's expeditions meant that at the English court, for thirty years or more, there were scores of men and women who had first-hand experience of Central Europe. Detailed knowledge of Poland was therefore available in England.

Through such commercial, diplomatic, and military activity an awareness of Poland was spread through several social circles. Its intensity varied within the circles and also varied according to changes in geopolitics over time. Although political and military connections were closest at the end of the fourteenth century, the strongest and most constant links between England and the Polish area were undoubtedly commercial, and these also reached their medieval peak at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. English merchants had difficulty venturing beyond the ports because of restrictions by the Hanseatic merchants keen to protect their own access to Prussia's hinterlands, but there can be little doubt that English merchants knew where the goods they handled came from and that their cloth was travelling south into Poland. Thus, an examination of England's trade in Hanseatic Prussia is valuable in the history of Anglo-Polish relations. When these lands

¹⁶ Many in the West did not yet fully appreciate what had happened in Lithuania, or else distrusted such a sudden conversion, and still believed that they were fighting pagans rather than taking part in a civil war. It would be nearly twenty years before it became fully clear to the West that the Lithuanian conversion was to be permanent and that there was no justification in fighting there. Du Boulay, "Henry of Derby's Expeditions," pp. 153–72; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 352–57.

became Polish again English interest and information was already well-established and provided a firm basis for the further developments of the sixteenth century.

Not all exchange of commodities between England and Poland took place through the Prussian/Polish ports. Much trade between western and eastern Europe went by road. There were important roads to Kraków from Flanders via Leipzig and Wrocław; others led via Frankfurt and Nuremberg and through Prague or Vienna, linking with overland routes from Venice. These remained active throughout the middle ages.¹⁷ They were supplemented in the mid-thirteenth century by the direct sea route round Jutland, used at first for western Baltic trade, but soon also for the East. The route is described in the fourteenth-century Hamburg *Seebuch*. Ships going to Rostock and western ports would use the Great Belt, but those going to the eastern Baltic used the Sound, from which they headed first to Bornholm and then to the Vistula and other eastern Baltic ports.¹⁸

At the English end all the English eastern ports from Newcastle to London were regularly involved with Hanseatic and eastern Baltic trade. Even southern and western ports such as Southampton and Bristol sent ships to the Baltic, and might see the occasional Gdańsk ship en route to or from the Bay of Bourgneuf.¹⁹ London, Hull and Lynn were the ports whose merchants were most consistently active in the Baltic, and the main Hansard centre in England was at the Steelyard in London where Gdańskers joined merchants of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Cologne. The Hansards also owned houses in the fifteenth century in Lynn and Boston. They seem never to have had such a centre in Hull despite the level of trade there.

The importance and regularity of contact with the eastern Baltic ports is clearly visible in English customs accounts. The main Prussian/

¹⁷ For a description of some contacts through Brabant, see Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 44–47.

¹⁸ Sauer, *Das Seebuch*, pp. 48–53. A new edition of the manuscript, with German and English translations by A. Sauer and R. Ward, will shortly be published by the Deutsches Schiffartsmuseum, Bremerhaven, to replace the edition by Koppmann, *Das Seebuch*. I am indebted to Dr Robin Ward for lending me in advance his translation and commentary.

¹⁹ A Bristol man was killed in Gdańsk in 1383: HR 1256–1430, 1st series, I (iii), no. 404, p. 409. A Gdańsk ship visited Bristol in 1400: TNA: PRO E122/17/1. The *Raphael* of Bristol visited Gdańsk in 1468: TNA: PRO C1/44/51; CPR 1467–77, p. 168. Gdańsk ships were more frequently at Southampton: TNA: PRO E122/138/3, 11, 16, 20, 22, 24.

Polish ports which provided ships for the English trade were Szczecin, Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Kaliningrad, but gradually Gdańsk ships become dominant. For instance in the 1380s and 1390s there might be a dozen Gdańsk ships in Hull or Lynn, but normally only two or three from other Baltic ports.²⁰ The English customs accounts offer evidence of the repeat journeys and the long service of English and Gdańsk ships and masters on this route.²¹

Gdańsk also became the main eastern destination for English merchants, and this was where they tried to set up a permanent and privileged settlement. At Gdańsk with permission from Richard II in 1390 they set up a fellowship with a governor and aldermen who would hold a regular court and with chamberlains whose income would come from entry fines, penalties and ships' fees. This right to association was confirmed by Richard in 1391, and again by Henry IV in 1404.²² The association indicates a resident community in Gdańsk and such residents were in an excellent position to learn about the hinterlands as well as the ports. Of course, information about the Prussian/Polish world they lived in might have been low if the English had lived in a harassed ex-patriate enclave, but, despite their constant complaints, this does not seem to have been the case in the early fifteenth century. Some settled in Gdańsk with their families (with English or Prussian wives), in their own houses, and enjoyed their common council house. They made contacts with non-Hansards as the Gdańskers complained in 1439.²³ Among the more permanent individual contacts is the well-known instance of the Kempes, a merchant family at Lynn. Margery Kempe, wife and mother of Lynn merchants had a Gdańsk daughter-in-law whom she took home in 1434 after the death of her son.²⁴ Movement also took place in the other direction. Henry Baillie, ship-master of Hull for at least thirty years from 1443–72 and a founder member of the Hull

²⁰ For example in Hull in 1383–4 there were 11 Gdańsk ships, 3 of Kaliningrad, 1 of Elbląg, and 2 of Lübeck. There were also 8 of Hamburg. In 1401 12 of 13 Baltic ships there were of Gdańsk (TNA: PRO E122/59/8, 60/2). In 1390–1, 1392–3, and 1396–7 Lynn received 32 different named Gdańsk masters, 3 of Elbląg and 1 of Szczecin (TNA: PRO E122/ 94/12, 14, 16).

²¹ See M. Kowaleski in this volume for further details on the shipping on this route.

²² The Lynn merchants living in Gdańsk sent a copy of the ordinance home to Lynn for confirmation. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 278–80.

²³ Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 14.

²⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 267–75. For more details of Margery Kempe's family, see J. D. Fudge in this volume.

ship masters' guild in 1456, was an immigrant, who (when he took an oath of allegiance to the English king in 1455) affirmed he had been born in Stulpe, Pomerania and had been in Hull since his youth.²⁵ Interestingly, however, he did not use his contacts and language ability to become a specialist in the Baltic trade. Indeed he seems never to have sailed there, but instead concentrated on the Hull-Bordeaux route. Life in Gdańsk was not, however, entirely comfortable and the English constantly complained of harassment. By 1441 they complained that they were no longer allowed their own houses and had to live and trade from cellars.²⁶ Nonetheless, some continued to reside there, whatever the pressures. The English also tried to extend their trade into the hinterlands of the ports—up the Vistula at least as far as Toruń and into Livonia and Estonia. Here too, at least until the early sixteenth century, they were constantly blocked by Gdańsk's restrictions.²⁷ Their central grievance about the lack of reciprocal rights in Prussian ports was also never met. Mounting trade difficulties and periods of violence (war and piracy) took their toll as the fifteenth century progressed and certainly deterred some English merchants.

The numbers of English merchants in Gdańsk at any one time are difficult to discover, but those interested and investing in the trade regularly ran into hundreds at the peak of the trade. After the confiscations of goods in Gdańsk and Elbląg in 1385 nearly 130 merchants made claims for compensation. The numbers confirm the strong east coast involvement. Thirty-three York merchants, twelve or thirteen from Beverley, nineteen from Lynn and fifteen or sixteen from Norwich made claims alongside ten from Colchester, eleven from London and a few from Nottingham, Coventry and other inland towns.²⁸ Many of these were not themselves in Prussia, but were using factors and agents there; nonetheless they may have had earlier first-hand knowledge of Gdańsk and its area, since all merchant manuals instructed their readers to travel

²⁵ CPR 1452–61, p. 204. His arrival must have been no later than the 1430s since he turned up as a fully fledged ship-master taking the *Mary Bedford* to Gascony in 1443. He was still working as master of the *Julian* of Hull in 1471–2.

²⁶ For references to the English resident in Gdańsk see Zins, *England and the Baltic*, p. 13 n. 36; Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 114; Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 57. For the complaint about houses and cellars in 1441 see HR 1431–76, 2nd series, II (ii), nos. 539 (2), 644 (4).

²⁷ Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 124, 248–49, 287; Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes and Emisaries*, p. 143.

²⁸ HR 1256–1430, 1st series, I (iii), no. 404, pp. 404–14.

when young in order to get to know their markets. Further troubles and arrest in 1451 similarly provide no numbers of those resident there, but show that the community was still large enough to have an organisation with aldermen.²⁹ The large numbers of merchants interested in Prussia are also clear in the English customs accounts. In Hull in 1383–4 for instance at least 104 local merchants were active in the trade. In 1401 in four months alone at least 77 were active, and a number of these, such as Richard Warde, Robert of Louthe and Richard Sowerby, were merchants who had been trading in 1383–4 and had sustained losses and made claims in 1385. They were still trading on a large scale nearly twenty years later. In Lynn too scores of merchants traded with Gdańsk, and similarly some of the merchants with the greatest losses in 1385 were still busy in Baltic trade in 1390–1.³⁰ The eastern ports of England were clearly filled with men who regularly traded in the East and knew a good deal about the eastern Baltic areas. Numbers of Englishmen and ships at Gdańsk in the later fifteenth century were lower, but the difficulties were rarely enough to put the English off entirely. Apart from the war years of 1468–74, customs accounts, law suits and other records show English activity through most of the 1450s and 1460s and also show that a few Englishmen, especially from Lynn, began to return soon after 1474. No English ships were recorded in the first surviving Sound toll register, but numbers soon rose in the early sixteenth century, and then began to soar. By 1579 the Eastland Company had been incorporated for eastern Baltic trade.³¹

What underpinned all these contacts of course were the commodities and markets each side could offer. Cloth was the predominant English export to the Baltic areas, which had little interest in English wool, so important to the industrial centres of Flanders and Florence. Once England's cloth export industry revived in the middle of the fourteenth century, this was an ideal product for this area, as it was for many markets all over Europe and the Mediterranean.

England's cloth showed a remarkable range, capable of feeding many markets. The top quality scarlet cloth, fine enough to be dyed

²⁹ Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes and Emissaries*, p. 57.

³⁰ TNA: PRO E122/59/8, 161/9, 60/2, 94/12; E122/60/2 is printed in C. Frost, *Notices relative*, Appendix, pp. 1–27.

³¹ See for instance TNA: PRO C1/44/151; CPR 1467–77, p. 168. For a survey of sources see Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 247, 285–91; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 57–64, 88, 99, 156–60.

wholly or partly in grain,³² mainly went to Iberia and Italy, but below that a range of good heavy broadcloths, tabby-woven and fulled, and a wide variety of lighter narrow cloths—dozens, straits, kerseys, blankets, says—went all over Europe. Kerseys were particularly popular with Hanseatic merchants in the 1380s and 1390s. They exported twice as much cloth from England in the form of kerseys as in the form of standard cloths of assize, and complained strongly when the tax on kerseys was changed in 1390. English cloth continued to be a main export even when tastes changed, and in the 1560s the Gdańsk market took predominantly Suffolk and Gloucester cloth.³³

All these cloths were available in a very wide range of colours. This needs emphasising because there are still some writers who assume that England's medieval cloth exports were predominantly unfinished. This was not so. That belief stems from an early misunderstanding of *pannus sine grano* which was translated (wrongly) as undyed cloth rather than (correctly) as cloth in which the expensive *kermes* dye has not been used. This error was reinforced by reading back into the earlier period the sixteenth-century predominance of unfinished cloth exports to the Low Countries. Even in the sixteenth century, however, cloth exported to areas outside the Low Countries was mainly dyed and finished.

Many sources witness to the range of coloured cloths produced and exported. Of over 3,000 cloths paying ulnage tax in 1394–5 in York, 87 per cent were coloured (36 per cent were blues, 26 per cent red, and 11 per cent greens). Of English cloths bought between 1393 and 1413 for the Navarrese royal house 38 per cent were reds and 20 per cent greens; those bought for the Castilian court in 1492–6 were 53 per cent greens and 39 per cent reds.³⁴ Some cloth certainly did remain undyed. Possibly up to 20 per cent of English exports at times in the early fifteenth century were white, but they should not necessarily be

³² Grain was the expensive red '*kermes*' dye produced from the insect *Coccus Ilicis*. England imported it mainly from Iberia. It was used only on best quality cloth. English customs duties on cloth were charged at three levels based broadly on the value of cloth. This was judged according to whether *kermes* was used in its dyeing, wholly, or partly, or not at all.

³³ For the variety available in the fourteenth century see Childs, "The English export trade," pp. 121–47. In fourteen months 1388–90 Hansards exported 1,378 cloths of assize and 7,545 kerseys, now rated as the equivalent of 2,515 cloths of assize. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 77. For the later exports, *ibidem*, p. 353.

³⁴ TNA: PRO E101/345/16, printed by Lister, *The Early Yorkshire Woollen Trade*, pp. 49–95; Castro and Idoate, *Archivo General de Navarra*, esp. XX–XXX; de la Torre, "Telas extranjerías," pp. 836–37.

considered as unfinished. There was a positive demand for high quality white cloth. About 6 per cent of the English cloth bought for the kings of Navarre was white cloth to line their own robes, to make hose for their children and to provide gifts for bishops.

Any of these types and colours could have reached Poland through Gdańsk or overland but we have little information about the colours bought in Poland. Kraków bought English cloth at least from 1364 and throughout the fifteenth century, but only Jan Borg's shop inventory of 1414 appears to provide evidence of the colours bought. His cloth included 1.5 warps of white and grey English cloth and 0.5 warp of green cloth from Beverley, a town just north of the port of Hull. Kraków merchants also sold English cloth on to Hungary and Moldavia.³⁵

Although not all English trade arriving in Poland necessarily went up the Vistula from Gdańsk, this branch of the trade is particularly well documented and is the only one to offer an opportunity to judge the scale of the trade. Even so, the scale is more difficult to establish than is sometimes thought.

Exports by the German Hanse merchants are visible throughout the English enrolled customs accounts because the Hansards paid duties at a privileged rate. In the fourteenth century their share of England's total cloth exports rose from around 6 per cent to 16–17 per cent. In the early fifteenth century this rose to nearly 20 per cent, and in the later fifteenth century to 25 per cent and even 30 per cent. In numbers of cloths this meant exports of 4,000–8,000 cloths a year in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, rising to about 10–15,000 cloths in the 1480s and to around 20,000 in the early sixteenth century.³⁶ However, the percentage of these cloths which went into the Baltic and from there into Poland is not clear. Trade routes were complex: many Hanseatic exports went through Hamburg and the Low Countries, and Lübeck too acted as a trans-shipment centre for Gdańsk. English merchants too handled exports for Gdańsk.

The detailed particulars of customs for individual ports can indicate which ships and cargoes were probably destined for Gdańsk. The indication cannot be precise since the accounts are far from complete, but it is possible to suggest an order of magnitude of the trade between some

³⁵ Carter, *Trade and Urban Development*, pp. 143–151; Carter, "Cracow's Transit Textile Trade," p. 30 and note 23.

³⁶ Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England's Export Trade*, pp. 75–111.

English ports and Gdańsk. In Hull in 1383–4, for instance, cloth exports on ships of Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Kaliningrad accounted for 13 per cent of Hull's cloth exports, and 2 per cent of England's total cloth exports; if the exports on two large English ships, which were almost certainly destined for the eastern Baltic, are added then some 40–50 per cent of Hull's exports and nearly 10 per cent of England's total cloth exports were destined for the eastern Baltic that year. In Lynn in 1392–3 ships of Gdańsk and Elbląg carried 95 per cent of Hansard exports by value (25 per cent of Lynn's total export value) that year. To this amount we must add London exports to Gdańsk and also the exports of English merchants involved in the route. It is dangerous to draw conclusions from scattered data, but a conservative, informed suggestion might be that well over 10 per cent of English cloth reached Gdańsk by sea in the busy years of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A century later the percentage would have been lower. At London in 1480–1 (not a flourishing time for Baltic trade), four Gdańsk ships loaded 18.6 per cent of Hanseatic cloth exports, forming 5 per cent of London's cloth exports and 3 per cent of England's total cloth exports.³⁷ There was little extra leaving Hull or Lynn at this time. By the end of the fifteenth century, English trade in the Baltic was in trouble, Hanseatic trade with England was not keeping up with the rise in English exports,³⁸ the remaining trade focused increasingly on London, and more trade than ever passed through the Brabant markets. Nonetheless, Gdańsk remained the most prominent port in the remaining Baltic trade. At Hull all Hanseatic shipping was from Gdańsk. At Lynn most was from Gdańsk.³⁹ In London, apart from the large number of Hamburg ships, most other Hanseatic ships were from Gdańsk. For instance in 1480 London received four Gdańsk ships alongside six from Hamburg and six repeat voyages by the *Mary* of the Steelyard.⁴⁰

In return for the cloth sent to Prussia/Poland England took a variety of useful goods (forest products, metals, wax, flax) and a few luxuries (amber and furs). As examples of the typical cargoes returning, we might cite the *Elyn* of Hull, Simon Burdon master, which arrived in Hull with

³⁷ TNA: PRO E122/59/8; Gras, *The Early English Customs*, pp. 526–53; Cobb, *The Overseas Trade*, nos. 440, 566, 567, 576.

³⁸ Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England's Export Trade*, pp. 105–116, 139.

³⁹ Childs, *The Customs Accounts*; Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 366–78; Gras, *Early English Customs System*, pp. 606–624; TNA:PRO E122/97/9, 17, 98/2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 14.

⁴⁰ Cobb, *The Overseas Trade of London*, *passim*.

a full Baltic cargo on 8 June 1401, and sixty years later the *Jacob* of Gdańsk, master Peter Burnholme (Bornholm), which arrived in Hull on 6 August 1461 with a similar cargo.⁴¹ Both unloaded mainly forest goods, metals, and flax products, but also a miscellany of other goods. The forest goods comprised both timber and timber goods. The bulk timber goods such as wainscots, clapholt, bow-staves, and oars were joined through the fifteenth century by increasing amounts of small manufactured goods from simple platters to musical instruments. Forest by-products were mainly pitch, bitumen, and ashes, but the skins and wax should also be seen as forest goods. The metals included osmund, probably from Sweden, and iron and copper from inland, possibly from Bohemia and Hungary. Flax, thread, and linen cloth were small regular imports, and the linseed oil was more unusual. Cereals made a rare appearance in the cargo of 1461. The lack of iron in that same cargo is not a sign of a permanent change: the *Maryknight* of Gdańsk, Yong John master, which arrived in Hull on 22 August 1463, unloaded a cargo which included 16.25 lasts of osmunds, 38 bunches of iron, 1.5 hundreds and 4 barrels of 'land' iron, showing that the eastern iron trade was still lively although small.⁴² The documentary sources for cargoes are powerfully confirmed by archaeology. The cargo in the fifteenth century vessel known as the Gdańsk copper wreck held oak planks, iron (as ore in casks and as bars in bundles), copper in disc-shaped ingots, and barrels of pitch, tar, wood ashes, resin and wax.⁴³

Timber is an especially interesting component of cargoes in the late Middle Ages. Before the fourteenth century most of England's imports still came from Norway. Thereafter into the sixteenth century Baltic timber, especially from Polish forests, came to dominate. Then in the later sixteenth century Norwegian and North German timber again increased, as Poland's major export turned to grain. The timber trade is another area where documentary and archaeological evidence are also proving splendidly complementary.

⁴¹ For details see Table 1. The *Elyn* was 1 of 8 vessels arriving in 1401 with apparently Gdańsk cargoes: 3 ships were of Gdańsk, 1 of Bremen, 2 of Hull, 1 of York, and 1 of Beverley. The *Jacob* was the only ship to bring a Baltic cargo to Hull in the summer of 1461.

⁴² Childs, *Customs Accounts of Hull*, pp. 59–60; for the iron trade see Childs, "England's Iron Trade," pp. 33–34, 36–38, 43–44. It is not clear if the C here means a weight of 100 lb. or 100 rods of iron.

⁴³ Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships*, pp. 101–103; Litwin, "The Copper Wreck," pp. 217–25. The single-masted ship sank, fully laden but destroyed by fire, just outside Gdańsk in the mid-fifteenth century.

England's main timber supplies were from northern and eastern Europe, and came into all the east coast ports from Newcastle to London.⁴⁴ In the fourteenth century Lynn was the most active importer, with Hull a close second.⁴⁵ London grew in importance during the century. The other ports were minor players. Customs accounts provide excellent information on the varieties of hewn, sawn and manufactured timber goods imported.⁴⁶ They also show that over the fourteenth century the timber trade possibly doubled in volume,⁴⁷ and they allow us to chart in some detail the shift from Norwegian to Baltic timber. By the 1230s or 1240s North German timber was being used in England, possibly brought through Hamburg, but the more regular use of the direct sea route round Jutland into the Baltic from the 1250s made Baltic supplies more easily accessible. In the 1300s about 30–40 per cent of imports in Lynn and Hull seem to have been brought directly from the western Baltic. In the 1320s this rose to some 50 per cent, and by the 1380s and 1390s almost all timber came from the Baltic. By this date the production area had shifted decisively to the eastern Baltic. Cheaper transport costs and low prices made the excellent clean-growing Polish oak very attractive.

Evidence for the change is threefold. First, in a wide variety of written sources (including the customs accounts) the growth in Baltic trade is shown by changing nomenclature from Anglo-Norman, English and

⁴⁴ England also received small amounts of timber and forest by-products from Spain, Gascony and Ireland.

⁴⁵ In the 1300s to 1330s Lynn's imports were valued at c. £500 p.a., Hull's at £300 and occasionally £600 p.a., Boston's and Yarmouth's at c. £100 p.a.

⁴⁶ Much was recorded as boards, which could vary in size, although at the time there were standard sizes of recognised types. The *'Noumbre of Weyghtes'*, the mid-fifteenth century merchant's handbook, noted that timber was sold by number, but that for freight purposes a last was made up of 60 deals, 100 righolts, 200 wainscots, 600 bow-staves, and 3,000 clapholts. This both suggests standard sizing and gives some idea of relative sizes. Building accounts often show purchases of 8–10 feet boards (2.5–3 m) which would be straightforward to handle in international trade, and customs records sometimes record the unloading of 'ten-foot boards'. The Gdańsk copper wreck included a cargo of boards stacked in the bottom of the ship. Most were 2.3–2.4 metres long, 24–30 cm wide, and either 2 or 4–5 cm thick. Heymanowski, "Niektóre sortymenty," p. 350. I am indebted to Ian Tyers of ARCUS, University of Sheffield, for this reference. See also Litwin, "The Copper Ship," pp. 42–50.

⁴⁷ Timber volume is difficult to assess since it is recorded by the piece, and timber sizes varied so much from barks and planks to wainscots and clapholt. However, the number of recorded pieces certainly doubled between the early and later periods (perhaps c. 100,000 to 250,000 pieces a year). However since the early period recorded alien imports only and the later both alien and English-owned imports, the actual rise may not be quite as great as the recorded rise. For further details on the timber trade see Childs, "Timber for Cloth," pp. 181–211.

Norwegian words to German words. Boards, spars, rafters, chevrons gave way to deles, wainscot, tunholt, righolt and clapholt. Secondly, in the customs accounts it is clear that Norwegian merchants and ships handling timber gave way to Baltic and especially to Gdańsk merchants and ships. The change is quite dramatic. In the 1300s at Lynn and Hull the largest single group of importing ships was still Norwegian (carrying some 40 per cent of imports), although already substantial amounts were brought on two groups of north German ships. One group came from Hamburg and one from Baltic ports as far east as Greifswald: together these carried about 42 per cent. As yet, only 6 per cent came directly from further east (mainly from Gotland and on one vessel from Reval). By the 1380s and 1390s only 4 per cent of ships were Norwegian. Twenty per cent were still from northern-western Germany, but now 54 per cent were from Prussia, mostly from Gdańsk. A further 19 per cent were English, apparently operating from Gdańsk. Thirdly, dendrochronological evidence can now identify provenance as well as felling dates of oak timbers and thus can also chart the changing supplies. The possibility of this was established in the 1980s and since then research has moved fast. Not only does it fully confirm the documentary evidence, but it can also show the complexity of trade, with multiple production and export areas in the Baltic.⁴⁸ Dated surviving timbers show that in the early thirteenth century much oak used in English buildings was still English, but already some came from North Germany or Denmark. After that, however, supplies shifted eastwards. For the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries almost all tested boards and panelling used in buildings or for panel painting in England shows that imported timber came from Poland. Only in the seventeenth century does it seem that the Rhineland again became a major supplier.

The importance of eastward trade for England was always very great. Eastern markets could take up to 60 per cent of English cloth exports, and Hanseatic merchants alone at times took up to 25–30 per cent. How much went in fact to Prussia/Poland is unclear. Perhaps at times over 10 per cent went directly by sea to Gdańsk. That was a significant amount, and the English clearly thought it worth fighting to maintain a hold in Prussian ports. But imports from the eastern

⁴⁸ Baillie *et al.*, “Redating the English art-historical tree-ring chronologies,” pp. 1–3; Bonde *et al.*, “Where does the timber come from?” p. 203; Eckstein *et al.*, “New evidence,” p. 465; Fletcher, “Dating of art-historical artefacts,” p. 466; Hillam and Tyers, “Reliability and repeatability,” pp. 400–405.

Baltic were probably even more important to England. The volume of imports is always difficult to assess. To estimate by value is easier but misleading. Polish goods were much cheaper than, say, Mediterranean luxuries.⁴⁹ Supplies of timber, other forest goods and wax should be judged rather by their strategic value. They were essential to England and Polish forests were the main suppliers of them (although it would be possible to go back to Scandinavian and northern German supplies if politics dictated). Locally, of course, the trade could be significant in the provincial ports, as was Gdańsk trade to Hull and Lynn.

The importance of England to Poland is almost impossible to calculate. Even with the better Gdańsk sources for the sixteenth century it is difficult,⁵⁰ for the fifteenth century it is even more so. Overall England was a useful market, in that it provided Gdańsk with a favourable balance of trade (although England's overall trade was usually in England's favour, trade aboard Gdańsk ships was consistently in Gdańsk's favour in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), but the exact percentage of these goods sent to England as compared with rest of the West is difficult to work out. However, there are some indications for the end of the fifteenth century. Exports of wainscots from Gdańsk were recorded as 316,300 in 1460, 216,000 in 1475, and 146,600 in 1491. Exports of clapholts ranged between 26,500 and 40,000 in these years.⁵¹ A rough comparison with English imports at near-by dates suggests that England's imports of wainscot at Hull alone in 1464–5 and 1466–7 (4,900–5,400) could be the equivalent of 2 per cent of Gdańsk's exports; in 1489–90 Hull's 3,900 wainscots would account for around 2.6 per cent, and her imports of clapholt over the years ranged between 2.5 and 7 per cent of Gdańsk exports. Similarly wainscot imported at Lynn alone in 1464–5 (18,300) would be about 6 per cent of Gdańsk's exports, if these were similar to 1460, but Lynn's imports of 5,550 in 1466–7 would have been only 2 per cent. Imports of wainscot at London in 1480–1 by alien merchants alone (4,400) would be around 2 per cent of Gdańsk's exports as reported in 1475.⁵² Taken together, these might indicate that England was taking 6 per cent or more even

⁴⁹ In the sixteenth century Polish goods made up only 5% of the value of imports, but volume and strategic value were much greater; Zins, *England and the Baltic*, pp. 216–17.

⁵⁰ Zins, *England and the Baltic*, pp. 216–86.

⁵¹ Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, p. 232. The C has here been taken as 100, but see the note to Table 1 for comment on numbers.

⁵² Childs, *The Customs Accounts of Hull*, pp. 65–96, 97–120; Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 366–78; Cobb, *The Overseas Trade of London*, pp. 1–75.

at this date, and it would certainly have been more a century earlier. England, however, was not much use for cereal exports, which went more especially to the Low Countries. Indeed English merchants complained when they were forced to export cereals. English cloth imports to Poland were useful in a country without a major industry of its own and could be used for further trade eastwards, but numbers of English cloths were undoubtedly much lower than those which came from the Low Countries, and the word *Lunski* is now known to have been also applied to Low Country cloth and was not an exclusive label for London cloth. Perhaps at times Poland's trade might have been like Hungary's in the sixteenth century: there in 1542 English cloth made up one quarter of Hungary's cloth imports on one main land route, and total cloth imports made up 40 per cent of the total trade handled. That is quite a significant proportion for both sides of the trade.⁵³

The significance of the trade should be considered not only in strictly commercial terms but also in terms of awareness. For his description of Poland in 1542 Andrew Boorde may have drawn on information from a long bookish tradition or on religious contacts in Avignon and Rome, but in its references to German influence in Poland and its concentration on commodities, his description seems almost certainly to reflect the knowledge and awareness brought by merchants and sailors whose access to Poland was through Prussia. This knowledge was part of a continuum collected and constantly reinforced through Anglo-Polish-Lithuanian commercial connections throughout the middle ages. Even when the number of active traders declined a pool of knowledge remained alive in the ports.

When English trade increased again in the sixteenth century, this knowledge was there as a basis to draw on for Polish trade. Clearly circumstances changed. The Hanseatic organisation was crumbling, and English merchants were growing in freedom and power; commodities changed as Poland shifted to grain exports; the diplomatic world changed massively as Poland took control of the Prussian ports and formal Anglo-Polish exchanges increased. The political changes make it more accurate after 1466 to speak of Anglo-Polish communication, but the earlier trading links had provided awareness of the Polish area, routes, towns, markets, commodities, legal systems and social customs, even if for much of the time the area went by another name.

⁵³ Endrei, "English kersey," pp. 90–99.

Table 1: Baltic cargoes arriving in Hull

A. <i>Elyn</i> of Hull, Simon Burdon master, arrived in Hull 7 June 1401 ⁵⁴	
Cargo:	
Forest products:	4 lasts of pitch and bitumen 1 last of ashes 2,266 wainscots 200 bow-staves 8 pliting boards 16 pieces of wax
Metals:	7.6 lasts of osmund 3 lasts of 'land' and 'staf' iron 1,600 (0.5 barrel = 4 hundredweights?) of copper
Flax and thread	154 stones and 8 (hundredweights?)
Fish oil	2.75 lasts
Beer	3 barrels
Skins	4 timbers
Miscellaneous goods:	hats, purses, points, cels
Value of the total cargo: £186.5.10	
B. <i>Jacob</i> of Gdańsk, master Peter Burnholme, arrived in Hull 6 August 1461 ⁵⁵	
Cargo:	
Forest products:	24 lasts of bitumen 4 lasts of pitch and bitumen 11.5 lasts of ashes 2,100 wainscots 600 bow-staves 500 oars 250 clapholts 3,428 platters, trenchers, troughs 90 wooden spoons and drinking cups 117 various chests, coffers, lecterns, playing tables, fir-butts 1 lute 90 bastes (ropes? baskets?) 136 lb of wax
Flax and thread	8.6 lasts of flax 24 bunches of lines yarn 170 ells of linen 2 small barrels of linseed oil
Cereal	10.5 lasts of rye-meal
Skins	10 Prussian skins and 10 purses
Miscellaneous goods:	4 dozens of pepper-querns, 10 bunches of pig-bristles
Value of total cargo: £163.6.8	

⁵⁴ TNA: PRO E122/60/2; printed in C. Frost, *Notices relative to the early history of the port of Hull* (London, 1827), pp. 12–13. The C (one hundred) and M (one thousand) have been here reckoned at the short hundred of 100, but it should be noted that the C varied according to commodity between 100 and 120, and that it could mean both number and weight. The stone was approximately 14 lb in weight. A timber of skins contained 40 skins (the name came from the practice of packing skins flat between two boards).

⁵⁵ TNA: PRO E122/62/1; printed in W. R. Childs, *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453–1490*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, CXLIV (1985), pp. 31–32.

Table 2a: Origins of ships importing timber to England in the early fourteenth century⁵⁶

	Norway	Germany	Hamburg	Lübeck	Wismar	Rostock	Stralsund	Greifswald	Gotland	Reval
A. Into Hull (including Ravenser and Scarborough)										
1305-6	7	4	1	2	0	0	3	0	0	0
1306-7	3	3	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0
1307-8	12	3	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
1308-9	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
1310-11	5	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0
B. Into Lynn										
1305-6	12	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	4	1
1306-7	7	2	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0
Totals	47				57				7	

Table 2b: Origins of ships importing timber to England in the later fourteenth century

	Norway	Bremen	Hamburg	Lübeck	Wismar	Szczecin	Gdańsk	Elbląg	Kaliningrad	England
A. Into Hull										
1383-4	2	0	5	0	0	0	6	1	2	3
1398-9	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	1
B. Into Lynn										
1390-1	0	1	2	1	3	1	12	1	0	7
Totals	4		12				32			11

⁵⁶ W. R. Childs, 'Timber for Cloth: Changing Commodities in Anglo-Baltic Trade in the Fourteenth Century', in *Cogs, Cargoes, and Commerce: Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe, 1150-1400*, ed. L. Berggren, N. Hybel, A. Landen (Toronto, 2002), p. 195.

POLISH SHIPS IN ENGLISH WATERS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES¹

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In recent years, our understanding of the overseas trade between England and the Baltic ports of medieval Prussia now in Poland has increased substantially thanks to the publications of Stuart Jenks, T. H. Lloyd, and John Fudge, among others.² But still rather less is known about the shipping from those Polish ports that carried the trade since such discussions often subsume all Baltic shipping under the rubric of “Hanseatic.”³ Yet it is worth considering “Polish” shipping from Gdańsk (Danzig), Elbląg (Elbing), Braniewo (Braunsberg), and Kaliningrad (Königsberg) on its own, rather than as simply an extension of the German Hanseatic maritime network. Recent archaeological evidence, for instance, points to a separate Slavic boat-building tradition that influenced the construction of ships in this region.⁴ During this period, moreover, Gdańsk, the leading port in the region, sought to fall under the jurisdiction of the Polish king and was often politically at odds with its seigneurial German overlord, the Teutonic Knights. In 1409–11 Gdańsk paid homage to the Polish king during the War of Poland and Lithuania with the Knights, in 1440 joined the Prussian Union of Polish

¹ I wish to thank Richard Unger for motivating me to expand my horizons to explore a maritime region about which I knew little. I also want to acknowledge the generous advice of Stuart Jenks, who patiently answered many questions and gave me access to documentation I would otherwise not have seen. Thanks also to Steve Rigby, for access to his unpublished transcriptions of the Boston customs accounts. The views expressed here, however, are my own.

² Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*; Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*; Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*. Still useful is Postan, “The Economic and Political Relations,” pp. 91–153.

³ For example, Heinsius, *Das Schiff der hansischen Früzeit*; Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, pp. 141–58; Wolf, *Tragfähigkeiten, Ladungen und Masse*; Schildhauer, *The Hansa, History and Culture*, pp. 149–54. There are several works treating Gdańsk shipping that draw on the local Gdańsk toll accounts, but they focus on all types of ships traveling through Gdańsk or on trade, not shipping, and rarely say much about the Polish vessels that made the trip to Britain. See, for example, Laufer, “Danzigs Schiff und Warenverkehr am Ende,” pp. 1–44; Samsonowicz, “Deux formes d’activité commerciale,” pp. 70–82.

⁴ See, for example, Litwin, “Boat and Ship Archaeology,” pp. 7–10; Indruszewski, *Man, Ship, Landscape*.

towns to defend its rights against the Knights, from 1456 on led the war effort against the Teutonic Knights, and in 1466 formally became part of the Polish kingdom.⁵ The enthusiastic participation of Gdańsk in overthrowing the political yoke of the Teutonic Knights and its desire to have the king of Poland as their overlord does raise the question of why Gdańsk and other medieval ports in what is now Poland are so frequently characterized as exclusively part of the Hanseatic world.⁶ Indeed, although Gdańsk was an important member of the Hansa, the port was increasingly at odds with the Hanseatic towns further west, and often followed its own path, especially with regard to relations with England.⁷ Scholars have also perhaps been hasty in assuming how universally “German” the shipmasters and crews of Polish ships were during this period. While the Teutonic Knights were ethnically German and the mercantile elite of Gdańsk and other major ports in the region all had German names, the mariners manning the ports’ ships were probably drawn largely from the ethnically mixed population of the town and its hinterland, which included a substantial Slavic population.⁸ The seeming ubiquity of middle low German in the medieval documentation of the ports now in Poland is also not a reliable indicator

⁵ Gdańsk’s political and military role is discussed in Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*. Elbląg also became part of the Polish kingdom.

⁶ Aside from attaching the appellation “Hanseatic” to most descriptions of Gdańsk, all German and even recent English works on the commercial history of the Baltic (such as Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, and Fudge, *Cargoes*) call the ports by their German names (Danzig, Elbing, Braunsberg, Königsberg) rather than by their Polish names.

⁷ The specific policy interests of Gdańsk within the Hanseatic League are discussed by Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 114, 129–31, 173–74, 191–201, 206, 242–48; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, II, pp. 556–64, 604, 618–35, 700–702, 706, 730–31; and Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 26–27, 64–65, 70–81, 96–97, 128–31. For the prominent role played by Gdańsk in the privateering wars, see Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 88–89; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 70–74.

⁸ Gdańsk’s population grew from about 10,000 in the late fourteenth century to c. 20,000 in the mid-fifteenth century, when Polish immigration was clearly on the rise; for these figures and a discussion of the ethnicity of these populations, see Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 16–17, 37–38, 53, 74, 103–104. The extent of intermarriage among the population of this region further muddies the water of who was “German” as opposed to “Slavic.” Note too that the majority of ships at Gdańsk in the port’s fifteenth-century customs accounts were quite small, under 24 tons (n. 38, below), and thus within the financial reach of a middling group of investors, some of whom could have been ethnically Slavic. As Stuart Jenks points out (personal communication, May 16, 2007), there was also a substantial immigration of “Baltic” peoples to Gdańsk in the medieval period.

of the character of those involved since the language was the lingua franca of the entire Baltic region in commercial matters.⁹

In order to sharpen scholarly focus specifically on Polish-English connections in shipping, this essay explores the profile of trading vessels that visited England from the ports of Gdańsk, Elbląg, Braniewo, and Kaliningrad from around 1370 to about 1500, a period of 130 years. The analysis draws upon a computer database (called the Polish Ships in England Database) that contains 879 references to 371 different medieval ships from ports in Poland that voyaged to England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These references come largely from English sources, particularly the overseas customs accounts, which often record not only the name, homeport, shipmaster, and arrival or departure days of ships, but also the names and status of the ship's merchants, as well as a list of the ship's cargoes and their values.¹⁰ It is important to acknowledge, however, that the chronological and geographical distribution of these references reflect not only the ups and downs of Anglo-Hanseatic trade, but also the vagaries of the customs accounts as a source.¹¹ Gaps in the accounts preclude any exact figures for the number of Polish ships visiting in some years, while some English ports are better served by extant accounts than others.¹² Further difficulties are encountered when the surviving accounts fail to list a ship's home port, thus making identification of Polish vessels almost impossible. Many identifications can, however, be made thanks to the work of Stuart Jenks in identifying ships and shippers from all of the Hanseatic ports, including those of Poland.¹³

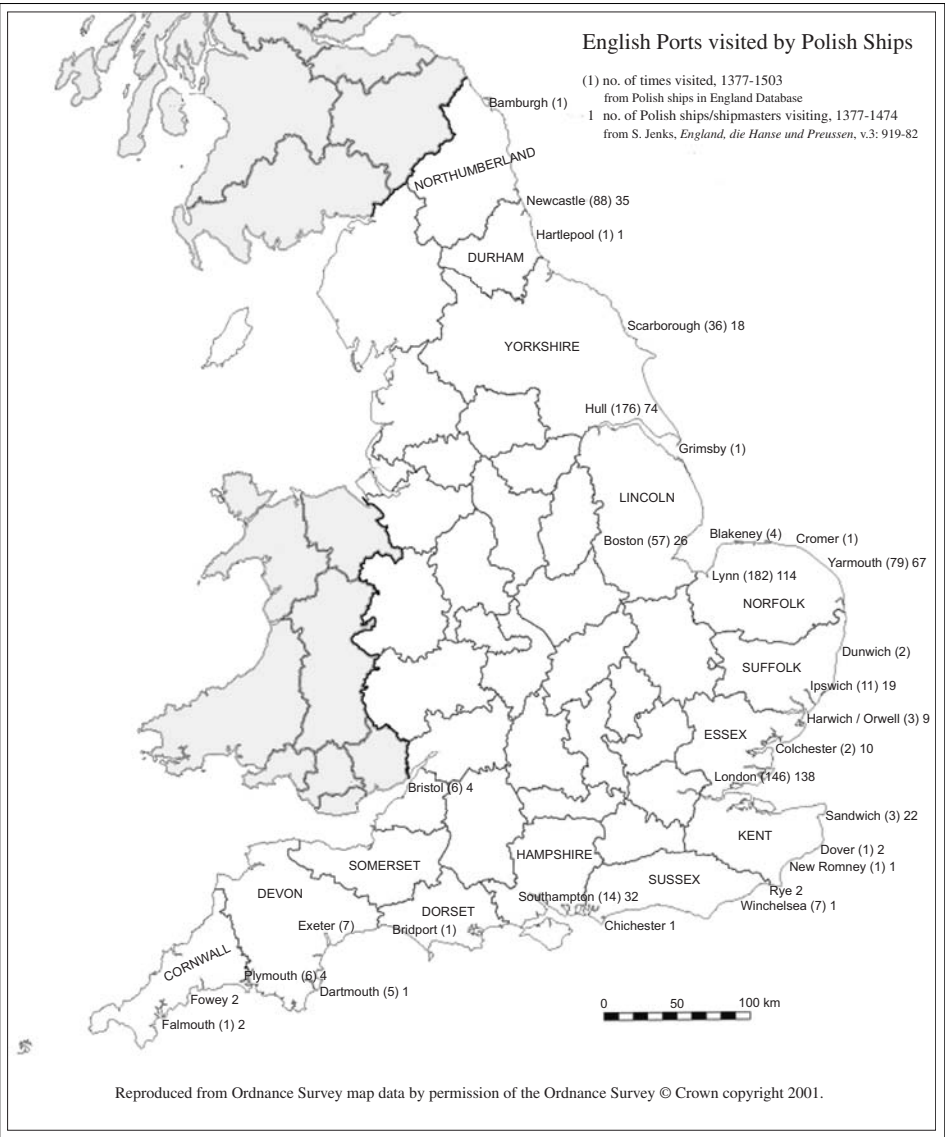
⁹ For a recent study that explores the non-German population of Baltic ports that relied on middle low German, see Mika Kallionen, "The Burghers of Medieval Turku," pp. 21–30.

¹⁰ See the Appendix for a description of the database and a list of sources used to compile it.

¹¹ For a discussion of customs accounts as a source, see Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547*, pp. 19–33, 201–207.

¹² An idea of where the gaps in the accounts are can be derived from the list of Prussian (i.e., primarily Polish) ships at specific English ports in Appendix 4 of Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 1150–1257. For the customs accounts surveyed in each port, see the Appendix, below.

¹³ For the period 1377–1474, it was possible to identify substantially more Polish ships and shipmasters—even when the homeport was not given in the customs accounts—by comparing the names of the masters of ships carrying identifiable Prussian cargoes (many also listed in Appendix 4 of Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 1150–1257) with the list of Polish shipmasters consulting the data in Appendix I of Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 847–982. For the later period, information scattered in Fudge, *Cargoes*, was also useful for identifying shippers from Polish ports.



Map 1: English Ports Visited by Polish Ships

Despite these problems, the database results usefully illustrate the overwhelming focus of ships from Polish ports on the eastern seaports of England and the relative importance of individual English havens as ports of call for such ships (Map). It is possible to cross-check these results, moreover, by comparing them to an analysis of shipmasters from the relevant ports compiled from a list of Hanseatic shippers and traders in England put together by Stuart Jenks.¹⁴ Map 1 shows the number of entries in the Polish Ships in England Database for each port as well as the number of different shipmasters from Polish ports, in parentheses, compiled from Jenks' listing. The discrepancy between the numbers from the list of Polish shipmasters as recorded in Jenks and the database are due to different methods of counting¹⁵ and to the fact that Jenks' list stops around 1474, while the sources used in the Polish Ships in England Database continue to 1503.¹⁶

Despite these differences, this comparative exercise yields some constructive insights. Ships from Polish ports confined the bulk of their English visits to the country's east coast, which accounted for 95 per cent of the database distribution, and 92 per cent of the analysis of Jenks' data on Polish shipmasters. The predominance of the five ports of Newcastle, Hull, Lynn, Yarmouth, and London as ports of call for those ships is also clear since together they accounted for 80 per cent of the Polish vessels in the database, and 70 per cent in the list of Polish shipmasters. In the next rank were Boston and Scarborough on the east coast, and Southampton on the south-west coast of England. Not surprisingly, given the orientation of the Baltic trading route, Polish ships reached Bristol and the western ports of Devon and Cornwall, such as Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey, far less often. The local Exeter customs accounts, for instance, which record all incoming ships

¹⁴ Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 847–982. The list of shipmasters is extracted from Jenks' appendix, compiled from a wide range of English and Hanseatic sources, that records all known Hanseatic traders in England from 1377 to 1474, and identifies shipmasters among these traders by name, place of residence, dates of activity, and ports visited in England.

¹⁵ In his listing, Jenks counted each shipmaster only once at each port, no matter how many times the shipmaster may have visited, whereas the database counts each entry to and exit from an English port by Polish ships/shipmasters.

¹⁶ The map excludes entries in the database that record visits to an English county or simply "England" rather than a specific port.

in a virtually unbroken series from 1338 to 1508, show only seven Polish ships, all from Gdańsk, reaching the port during these centuries.¹⁷

The vast majority (almost 90 percent) of the database references relate to ships from Gdańsk. There were only 55 references to Elbląg ships, 29 to Kaliningrad ships, and 5 to ships from Braniewo. These references to the smaller Polish ports, moreover, cluster mainly in the late fourteenth century. After 1403 ships from these smaller ports appear not to have voyaged to England, a trend confirmed by the list of Polish shipmasters compiled from references to Hanseatic traders in England.¹⁸ The ships from these smaller seaports on the south coast of the Baltic also visited a narrower range of English locations than did their Gdańsk counterparts. Almost half of the ships from the smaller ports (43 per cent) only voyaged to Hull, with an additional 16 per cent docking at Newcastle. In other words, they restricted their voyages to the north-eastern part of the English coast, and only occasionally reached any further south than Yarmouth.

Ships from Elbląg not Gdańsk appear to have visited England more frequently in the first half of the fourteenth century since the earliest reference found to Polish ships in England is at Yarmouth where two ships from Elbląg docked in 1325.¹⁹ But ships from Prussia probably arrived even earlier since an Ipswich list of customs rates of c. 1303 specifically mentions the customs assessed on wares from Gdańsk.²⁰ The next references are not until the 1370s, but by 1378 at least twelve different ships from ports in Poland sailed to England laden with the usual Prussian cargoes of timber, pitch, tar, wax, and furs, stopping at the ports of Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth, and Boston. A similar pattern can be observed for English ships in the Baltic; there is some evidence they had made it to Copenhagen by 1294, but it was not until the late fourteenth century that they were regularly freighting goods to Gdańsk

¹⁷ Devon Record Office, Exeter Local Port Customs Accounts, *passim*; see also Kowaleski, ed., *The Local Customs Accounts of the Port of Exeter 1266–1321*. The Gdańsk ships are in the accounts for 1414/15 (2), 1415/16 (2), 1416/17 (2) and 1424/5 (1). These are included in my database, but not in Jenks' list of Hanseatic shipmasters.

¹⁸ Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 847–982.

¹⁹ PRO, E122/148/27; an abbreviated notice is printed in Smit, ed. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis*, I, p. 194. See also CPR 1321–24, pp. 266, 293, 360, for safe-conducts given to "Estland" merchants to bring grain and other victuals to England.

²⁰ PRO, E122/157/12, printed in Gras, *The Early English Customs System*, p. 163; he dates the list to c. 1303.

and Elblag.²¹ Although Polish vessels concentrated on shipping to the eastern ports of England, they were also regular visitors to Scottish ports when truces allowed and occasionally reached as far west as Cornwall, Bristol, and even Ireland.²² Despite the on-going tensions between England and the Hanseatic towns, particularly in 1449–54, Gdańsk ships were a common sight in English ports, especially London, Lynn, Hull, Newcastle, and Yarmouth. Ships from the Polish ports were even pressed into English naval service on occasion, and Gdańsk ships were part of the small fleet that carried King Edward IV back to England to assert his claim to the throne in 1471.²³

A rough idea of the chronological pattern of visits by Polish ships to English waters can be obtained by breaking down the references to shipmasters from Polish ports drawn from Jenks' data on Anglo-Hanseatic traders in England (Table 1) into periods that correspond to different stages in Anglo-Polish and Hanseatic relations.²⁴ Polish shipping to England was relatively brisk in the first period, the late fourteenth century, despite the temporary prohibition of trade in 1385 following the capture of a Hansa fleet (including ships from Poland) off the Zwyn by largely English pirates and the efforts of Gdańsk to restrict English trading rights in its port. Trade in the long 50-year second period was less stable, since it was interrupted time and again by a variety of problems ranging from the Polish/Lithuanian War with the Teutonic Knights who controlled Gdańsk, to a rise in piracy and privateering at sea, the Dano-Wendish War, and the formation of the Prussian Union to defend the rights of Polish towns against the Teutonic Knights. The

²¹ Dollinger, *German Hansa*, p. 73, claims the English were visiting the ports of Gdańsk and Elblag from c. 1350; see also Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 48–49. There were enough English merchants in Prussia that they received permission to elect their own governors and make statutes for their better governance; see Jenks, "Die Ordnung für die englische Handelskolonie," pp. 105–20. Their organization was based in Gdańsk. The late fourteenth century also was the height of English involvement in the northern crusades; see Smith, ed., *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land*.

²² For Scotland, see Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 5, 8, 13, 16, 159. For a stopover in Ireland by Gdańsk mariners returning from Iceland, see CPR 1436–41, pp. 270–71; see also CPR 1381–5, p. 500; CCR 1405–9, p. 210; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 145, 168. For visits to Bristol, see PRO, C1/68/299, and Appendix, below. For Falmouth and Fowey in Cornwall, see PRO, SC6/818/7, m. 9d and CPR 1452–61, p. 664.

²³ PRO, E101/53/24, 620/22; CCR 1413–19, p. 301; CPR 1416–22, p. 115; 1422–29, p. 429; Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 207, 235; HU, X, pp. 2–3, n. 1.

²⁴ Results from the database are in the last two rows of Table 4, but need to be treated with caution as a guide to chronological developments because many of the fifteenth-century customs accounts on which the database relies simply do not survive.

Table 1: Visits by Polish Shipmasters and Ships to English Ports, 1377–1503

English Ports	1377–1399	1400–1448	1449–1475	1475–1503	Total	% of total Polish ship masters	Ship voyages (in & out)	% Ship voyages (in & out)
Polish shipmasters					Polish ships			
London	34	74	30		138	23.2	146	17.2
Lynn	56	35	23		114	19.2	182	21.5
Hull	35	21	18		74	12.5	176	20.8
Yarmouth	29	29	9		67	11.2	79	9.3
Newcastle	17	13	5		35	5.9	88	10.4
Southampton	9	12	11		32	5.4	14	1.7
Boston	16	8	2		26	4.4	57	6.7
Sandwich	8	11	3		22	3.7	3	.4
Ipswich	3	7	9		19	3.2	11	1.3
Scarborough	12	5	1		18	3.0	36	4.2
Colchester	1	5	4		10	1.7	2	.2
Orwell & Harwich	4	4	1		9	1.5	3	.3
Other E. ports	5	11	1		17	2.9	25	2.9
Bristol	1	3	0		4	.7	6	.7
Other W. ports	0	7	2		9	1.5	20	2.4
Total	230	245	119		594	100%	848	100%
Polish Ships Database	372	296	86	123	877			

Source: For Shipmasters, 1377–1475: Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 919–82. For ships and data in the bottom row: Polish Ships in England Database (see Appendix); only precisely dated entries were used in this table.
Note: The figures from Jenks represent 217 Polish shipmasters who were counted once in each period in which their ships visited an English port; thus multiple voyages to the same port within one period by the same shipmaster and ship were only counted once. In the Polish ships database, there were 55 voyages by Elblag ships, 29 by Kaliningrad ships, and 5 by ships from Braniewo; the remainder were by Gdańsk ships.

situation worsened dramatically in 1449 with the English capture of the Hanseatic salt fleet, an action that prompted reprisals on English activities in Gdańsk and other Baltic ports. Polish shipping activity was spare indeed from the 1450s through 1470s, but the trade revived in the 1480s, as the evidence from the database clearly indicates, and continued to grow into the sixteenth century.²⁵

The political problems that adversely affected the chronological pattern of shipping between Polish ports and England also appear to have influenced the names of Polish ships, which came from a very restricted range of options (Table 2). Such a narrow choice of ship names is highly unusual. For instance, no one ship name ever accounted for more than 7 per cent of all ship names at the southwestern port of Exeter in the early fourteenth century, or 16 per cent of Hull ships docking at that port in the late fifteenth century.²⁶ Yet Polish shipowners—at least before the break between Gdańsk and its Teutonic Knights overlords around 1455—chose to name over 40 per cent of their ships *Mary Knight*, a reference to Mary's *knecht* or "servant" that must pay homage in part to the Teutonic Knights, a monastic military order dedicated to the Virgin Mary that also kept a political grip on Gdańsk. The Teutonic Knights owned and operated ships and were actually a corporate member of the Hanseatic League,²⁷ but they certainly did not own the 121 different Polish ships named *Mary Knight* that can be identified in the period from 1377 to 1454. Thus the German-speaking mercantile and shipping elite who owned the bulk of the Gdańsk ships must have been choosing this name deliberately, whether as a way to curry favor with their political overlords or as genuine homage to a religious ideal that remained strong in the region of the Baltic and North Seas.²⁸

²⁵ These trends are also outlined in detail in Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*; see also Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, and Fudge, *Cargoes*.

²⁶ The Exeter figure is based on 219 different English ships docking at Exeter, 1295–1321, as printed in Kowaleski, ed., *Local Port Customs*. The Hull figure is based on 49 different Hull ships docking at Hull, as printed in Childs, ed., *The Customs Accounts of Hull*. See also, Sandhal, "Names in English Naval Documents," pp. 175–92; Jones, "The Names Given to Ships," pp. 23–36.

²⁷ Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 41, 95–96, 110, 289–90; Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, p. 91; Sattler, ed. *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 62–65, 265.

²⁸ *Mary Knight* was also a popular ship name in the Low Countries; in the 1453–1500 Hull accounts (in Childs, ed. *Customs Accounts*), 10 per cent of the ships from the Low Countries were named *Mary Knight*.

Table 2: Shipnames of Polish Ships in England, 1377–1503

Shipname	1377–1454		1455–1503	
	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Mary Knight</i>	121	41.4	1	1.3
<i>Christopher</i>	70	23.9	9	11.5
<i>George</i>	23	7.9	14	18.0
<i>Mary</i>	18	6.2	11	14.1
<i>Holy Ghost/Spirit</i>	10	3.4	0	
<i>Godberade</i>	9	3.1	0	
<i>Palmeday</i>	6	2.1	0	
<i>Julian(e)</i>	5	1.7	0	
<i>Magdalene</i>	3	1.0	0	
<i>Crotenburghe</i>	2	.7	0	
<i>Gabriel</i>	2	.7	3	3.8
<i>Juryan</i>	2	.7	0	
<i>Katherine</i>	2	.7	0	
<i>Nicholas</i>	2	.7	1	1.3
<i>Reynald</i>	2	.7	1	1.3
<i>Adrian</i>	1	5.1	1	1.3
<i>Bartholomew</i>	1		0	
<i>Brounsbergh</i>	1		0	
<i>Catyntroghe</i>	1		0	
<i>Crossbergh</i>	1		0	
<i>Cruceday</i>	1		0	
<i>Isabel</i>	1		0	
<i>Jacob/James</i>	1		3	3.8
<i>Jesus/Holy Christ</i>	1		3	3.8
<i>Kerdronte</i>	1		0	
<i>Lawrence</i>	1		0	
<i>Margaret</i>	1		2	2.6
<i>Trinity</i>	1		1	1.3
<i>Willibergh</i>	1		0	
<i>Anne/a</i>	0		10	12.8
<i>John</i>	0		4	5.1
<i>Michael</i>	0		2	2.6
<i>Playtt</i>	0		2	2.6
10 Other Shipnames	0		10	12.8
Total	292	100.0%	74	100.0%

Source: Polish Ships in England Database; see Appendix.

Note: The table only counts each ship once in the period 1377–1503 and excludes ships whose names are not known. The ten new shipnames appearing after 1455 were: *Anthony*, *Barbara*, *Bernard*, *Brett*, *Brodhenrik*, *Buyshule*, *Herry*, *Lycop*, *Rose*, and *Ursula*.

The Anglo-Hanseatic conflicts during the second half of the fifteenth century may also have affected how long ships from Polish ports stayed in England before leaving with another cargo or simply with ballast, as some clearly did. The turnaround time for Polish vessels was as short as two to seven days, or as long as three and a half months if they over-wintered in England. Although the average of a sample of 161 round-trip voyages by Polish ships recorded in the customs accounts was about 30 days, almost exactly one month, ships delayed almost a week longer in the late fifteenth century than they did in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century (Table 3). This difference may have been due to the greater caution exercised in the face of the dangers at sea during the later period, when the Anglo-Hanseatic conflicts, as well as England's disputes with its neighbours across the Channel, gave rise to rampant piracy and privateering.²⁹ Vessels coming from the southern Baltic may also sought the safety of sailing together in small convoys of two to four ships during the later period, which would have caused delays while waiting for all the shipmasters and merchants to complete their business before departing.³⁰ Yet it is also clear that longer turnaround times were more characteristic of some ports than others. Particularly striking is the time Polish ships spent in port at Newcastle, where the average stay in the late fourteenth century was a bit more than 17 days, but 47 days in the late fifteenth century, whereas the trend was reversed at Hull, although the sample is admittedly small (Table 3). The longest stopovers, however, were at the port of London, where Polish ships usually waited over 35 days on average before departing. These delays were probably due to the intensity and risks of doing business in hectic London and the difficulties of navigation in the Thames.³¹

These delays in port while waiting for a return cargo also raise questions about where the crew stayed during those sojourns (especially in ports where the Hansa had no permanent facilities), how they

²⁹ Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 19–27, 51–56, 66–98; Visser-Fuchs, “English Events in Caspar Weinreich’s Danzig Chronicle,” pp. 310–20. Civil discord in England during the Wars of the Roses also disrupted safe conditions at sea; see Richmond, “The Earl of Warwick’s Domination,” pp. 1–19.

³⁰ For the use of convoys by Gdańsk ships sailing from the Zwyn in Flanders, see Jenks, “Das Danziger Pfundzollbuch von 1409 & 1411,” p. 139.

³¹ For the long delays, navigational difficulties, and other problems experienced by the Italian fleets in London, see Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts*, I, pp. 32, 44, 55–56, 67, 76, 79; Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping*, pp. 47, 51, 66–67, 162–67.

Table 3: Turnaround Times (in days) for Polish Ships at English Ports

Home Port	Days in port	Shortest Stay	Longest Stay
All Ports, 1378–1503 (N = 161)	29.5	2	175
All Ports, 1378–1446 (N = 108)	27.0	2	125
All Ports, 1461–1503 (N = 53)	34.5	4	175
Newcastle, 1378–1401 (N = 15)	17.5	6	60
Newcastle, 1481–1500 (N = 7)	47.4	14	117
Hull, 1378–1446 (N = 28)	27.9	2	97
Hull, 1461–1490 (N = 10)	22.2	4	36
Lynn, 1391–1503 (N = 34)	29.1	7	175
London, 1391–1481 (N = 33)	35.6	6	145

Source: Polish Ships in England Database. See Appendix.

Note: Only records from the overseas customs accounts (PRO, E122) were used; to be counted, the port of call, home port, ship name, and shipmaster had to match for a ship that entered before it exited within the purview of surviving accounts. N = number of round trips (entry followed by exit from the port).

communicated with the local populace, and what they did while their ships were lying in the harbour. Scattered court cases detailing the prosecution of mariners on Polish ships for theft, assault, and even murder suggest that they did not always manage to stay out of trouble.³² Some ports may have been more inhospitable than others. Polish mariners and merchants seem to have had particular problems in Hull, in part because the local authorities were so hostile to their trade and often sought to put limits on what they could do while in the port.³³

The changing political climate, as well as the varying conditions at individual English ports, also appear to have affected the seasonality of shipping from the Polish ports. The general pattern was for a hefty 40 per cent or more of Polish ships to voyage to and from England during the summer months of June to August, when weather conditions in the northern seas were more conducive to safe and speedy travel, and for one-quarter to travel in the spring and another quarter in the autumn (Table 4). Only a small percentage (9 per cent) arrived or departed in the stormier winter months of December through February, with

³² See, for example, PRO, C1/267/16; CCR 1405–9, p. 321; CPR 1422–29, 160–61; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 159, 220–2; Kerling, “Aliens in the County of Norfolk,” p. 210.

³³ For the obstructions to trade by Gdańsk mariners and merchants in Hull, see City of Hull Record Office, BRB1, ff. 47, 57; Allison, “Medieval Hull,” p. 52; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 192–93, 220–21.

even fewer making winter voyages by the late fifteenth century. This pattern was not universal, however, since winter voyages represented a slightly larger percentage of visits by Polish ships to Lynn throughout the fifteenth century. Other ports also showed particularly distinctive patterns. Polish ships travelling to Newcastle in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, for example, voyaged far more often in the winter months than did Polish vessels travelling to other ports, although by the late fifteenth century, Newcastle experienced the smallest number of winter voyages. Yet an extraordinarily high percentage of entries and exits to the port occurred in the spring months, when it would still have been quite cold in this northern port (Table 4). In striking contrast to the Polish voyages, the visits of ships from the Netherlands to Hull during this period were more evenly distributed over the entire year, as were the visits by vessels from Hull itself, although they traveled relatively little during the winter (Table 4).

The fact that winter voyages to England by ships from Polish ports were made regularly if infrequently suggests that the Hanseatic prohibition on shipping between November 11 and February 22 was not strictly observed. Many scholars believe that this compulsory break in shipping was to prevent problems that came with navigating the Baltic during the autumn and winter storms, while Stuart Jenks argues that the prohibition only applied to the larger ships, especially foreign ships, and was not imposed on ships under about 24 lasts, or 48 tons, in order to keep them competitive against bigger vessels.³⁴ The evidence largely supports Jenks' position since the Baltic ships that did voyage to or from England during the winter break were generally smaller vessels. On occasion, however, ships with larger cargoes, such as the *George* of Gdańsk, which arrived at London in February 1438 with well over 45 lasts of potash, tar, pitch, timber, fish and other goods, indicate that even the bigger ships did not always adhere to the Hanseatic regulations.³⁵ Other shipmasters from Polish ports chose, however, to over-winter in England, presumably to avoid the risk of winter travel in the Baltic Sea, although other factors, such as arrest by the local authorities, maintenance of or repairs to the ship, or time spent waiting for the

³⁴ See, for example, Dollinger, *German Hansa*, pp. 146–47; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, I, pp. 305–20; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 44, 181–82.

³⁵ PRO, E122/73/10, f. 23. Ships sailing to or from Norway were exempt, while ships trading with Scania were only subject to the ban from 6 December to 2 February; Dollinger, *German Hansa*, p. 146.

right cargo might also prompt over-wintering.³⁶ Other shipmasters could have delayed return to the Baltic in order to participate in the lucrative Bordeaux vintage wine trade from October through December or the spring wine trade from February through April. Some may have chosen to ply the routes between England and the Low Countries, which continued to be busy into the winter months (Table 4).

Unfortunately, the available data offer few details on the size of ships from Polish ports that voyaged to England, although the size of the cargo can provide some clues, as do references to the capture or confiscation of ships from Prussia in England. Some of the cargoes, particularly those at Hull, Lynn, and London, could be enormous, indicating carrying capacity of at least 300 tons. Indeed, the customs entries for a late fifteenth-century Gdańsk ship in London could run to several folios. In around 1437, the *Mary Knight*, a Prussian hulk of 400 tons, served briefly as a naval transport for England carrying supplies to France, while other Gdańsk hulks were recorded with tonnage capacities of 300, 250, and 109.³⁷ Anything over 50 tons was considered a big ship; those over 200 tons were very big ships. Yet there were also many ships from Polish ports that appear to have been under 50 tons as indicated by their miniscule cargoes and very low valuations. These smaller ships tended to have only one or two merchants importing or exporting goods, and one of them was always the shipmaster himself, who also frequently owned all or part of the ship. The regularity with which smaller Polish ships transported cargoes to and from England also fits in with recent analyses of the Gdańsk customs accounts which have shown that 67 per cent of the ships recorded there in 1409 had a cargo capacity under or equal to 24 lasts (that is, around 48 tons).³⁸

There is not much evidence on the types of ships coming out of Poland during this period since the customs accounts simply labeled most vessels *navis*, or ship, although it was common for cogs to be so termed in customs documents. Only fourteen ships from Polish ports and all before 1400 were specifically designated as cogs, supposedly the typical Hanseatic vessel. One vessel was termed a buss (in 1426),

³⁶ For examples, see *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, I, pp. 492–93; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 108, 114–15, 146.

³⁷ PRO, E101/53/24 (400 ton hulk); CPR 1452–61, p. 174; CCR 1402–05, p. 94; 1413–17, p. 301.

³⁸ Jenks, ed., *Das Danziger Pfundzollbuch 1409 & 1411*; Jenks, “Das Danziger Pfundzollbuch von 1409 & 1411,” p. 147.

Table 4: Seasonal Voyages of Ships at English Ports, by Home Ports

Home Port	English port of call	Spring (Mar.–May)	Summer (June–Aug.)	Autumn (Sept.–Nov.)	Winter (Dec.–Feb.)
Poland (N = 718)	All, 1378–1503	26%	39%	26%	9%
Poland (N = 423)	All, 1378–1406	27%	40%	24%	9%
Poland (N = 178)	All, 1460–1503	29%	41%	24%	6%
Poland (N = 62)	Newcastle, 1378–1406	26%	44%	16%	14%
Poland (N = 20)	Newcastle, 1453–1500	70%	15%	10%	5%
Poland (N = 129)	Hull, 1378–1406	26%	36%	31%	7%
Poland (N = 32)	Hull, 1453–1490	15%	72%	13%	0
Poland (N = 164)	Lynn, 1378–1503	20%	47%	24%	9%
Poland (N = 45)	Yarmouth, 1378–1406	24%	44%	30%	2%
Netherlands (N = 62)	Hull, 1453–1490	29%	26%	21%	24%
Hull (N = 197)	Hull, 1453–1490	32%	24%	32%	12%

Source: Polish Ships in England Database; see Appendix.

Note: Only records from the customs accounts were used: primarily the overseas accounts in PRO, E122, supplemented by some local customs from Exeter, Southampton, and Yarmouth. The “voyages” include both entries and exits.

eight were called crayers (1392–1464), and seventeen were called hulks (1400–1464).³⁹ At least two of the hulks was quite large, over 300 tons, while another was probably smaller since it carried a cargo of 56 tuns of

³⁹ Cogs: PRO, E122/59/3, m. 1d; 59/7, mm. 3d, 4, 6; 59/8, f. 39v; PRO, SC8/116/5780; HR, I, iii, 186–9, 193–5; CCR 1399–1402, 851; Kunze, ed. *Hanseakten*, p. 188. Buss: Studer, ed., *The Port Books of Southampton*, p. 8. Crayers: PRO, E122/40/16; PRO, SC8/189/9413; CPR 1401–05, p. 508; 1408–13, p. 320; 1436–41, p. 409; 1446–52, p. 554; 1461–67, p. 349; Kunze, ed. *Hanseakten*, p. 196. Hulks: PRO, C1/26/193, C1/70/75; PRO, E101/53/24; CPR 1401–05, p. 508; 1413–16, p. 65; 1446–52, p. 440; 1452–61, pp. 54, 174; 1461–67, p. 350; CCR 1399–1400, p. 73; 1402–05, pp. 439, 497; 1413–19, p. 24; Kunze, ed. *Hanseakten*, p. 196; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, VII, pp. 247–8.

wine.⁴⁰ It is perhaps significant that the Gdańsk burgess seal depicted a cog in 1299, but a hulk by around 1400, an indication of the transition that occurred in bulk carriers throughout the Hanseatic world starting around 1300 when greater carrying capacity in relation to building cost became more profitable.⁴¹ More information is available about two Gdańsk hulks, one seized at the mouth of the Thames in 1401 when it was discovered to be carrying uncustomed merchandise, and the other called the *Christopher*, which was arrested on order of the king in 1413, but later released after being appraised.⁴² Both hulks had small boats and four anchors; one hulk was valued at £45 and the other at £50, amounts which most likely minimized their true value since the shipmaster of the hulk confiscated for uncustomed merchandise had to pay a fine of well over three times the value of his vessel to reclaim it. The gear of the 1413 hulk included nothing unusual and indicates a single-masted ship. The ship's paraphernalia included 7 barrels of salt meat, 4 barrels of salt, 4 barrels of rye meal, and a half a barrel of green peas, a hint of what the crew had to eat. The gear of the *Jesus* of Gdańsk, a ship of at least 150 tons captured by French pirates off Grimsby and sold to the Abbot of Whitby and others in 1528, included three anchors, a ship's boat with ten oars, a compass, sand glasses for measuring time, sounding lines, and a pump (a fairly advanced piece of equipment for this period), as well as flour, saltfish, bacon, butter, peas, oatmeal, beer, and biscuit for the crew.⁴³

The *Jesus* of Gdańsk was only one of many ships that came into English hands by capture or through confiscation (usually for customs evasion). The *George* of Prussia, for instance, was taken by Sir John Fastolff, who reportedly invested £100 of his own money into repairing, maintaining, and victualling the ship, which he renamed *Danyelleshulk*.⁴⁴ The first decade of the fifteenth century witnessed a particularly high level of English aggression against the Hansa, including ships from Polish ports. The English stopped Hansa ships on a variety of pretexts, including suspicion of trading with the Scots. In 1401, for example, an Elblag ship was captured by Newcastle privateers, while two Gdańsk

⁴⁰ PRO, E101/53/24; CPR 1452–68, p. 174; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, VII, pp. 247–48.

⁴¹ Ellmers, "The Cog as Cargo Carrier," pp. 29–46, especially pp. 41, 45; Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, pp. 169–71.

⁴² CPR 1399–1401, p. 532, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, VII, pp. 247–48.

⁴³ Peacock, ed., "Star-Chamber Complaint," pp. 246–51.

⁴⁴ CPR 1446–52, p. 437.

ships were attacked (and one sunk by fishermen from Hartlepool) for this alleged reason. T. H. Lloyd estimates that from 1403 to 1404, the English captured well over thirty Hansa ships, including many from Polish ports.⁴⁵ In retaliation, Gdańsk privateers captured English ships and Gdańsk authorities confiscated English merchandise in their home port.⁴⁶ The tense scenario should not, however, obscure the fact that such captures and confiscations may well have accelerated the transfer of knowledge about shipbuilding techniques between England and the Baltic.

There was also an enormous peace-time trade in ships built in Polish ports to English buyers. In 1441, for example, three English merchants purchased one-half share of the hulk *Jacob*.⁴⁷ There are numerous references to Englishmen buying whole ships in Poland, as when Richard Paskelle of Lynn purchased a ship there in 1490 that was robbed on its way back to England,⁴⁸ despite Hanseatic prohibitions making it difficult or illegal to sell ships or to buy them for foreigners. Gdańsk, however, did little to enforce these restrictions in the first half of the fifteenth century since its interests were focused more on keeping the English and other foreigners out of trade with their surrounding hinterland.⁴⁹ Polish ships were also sold in English harbours, as indicated in the local Yarmouth customs accounts which recorded the customs assessed on two Gdańsk shipmasters for selling their ships there in 1446/7.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 112–13. For captured or shipwrecked Prussian ships incorporated into the English fleet, see also CPR 1405–8, p. 362; 1413–16, p. 346; Thomas, ed. *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, p. 283.

⁴⁶ For English captures of Hansa (including Gdańsk) ships, see HR, I, iii, nos. 198–203; HR, I, v, nos. 255, 256, 257, 271, 272, 390, 392. Gdańsk ships were also part of the captured Bay fleet: HR II, ii, nos. 530, 531, 533, 535; 2nd capture of Bay Fleet: HU, VIII, nos. 20, 84 (esp. pp. 1–50), 215, 780. For the confiscation of English goods in Gdańsk and the harassment of English shipping by Prussian privateers in the North Sea, see HR, I, iii, no. 404 and Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 206–208; for the confiscation of two Hull ships in Gdańsk, see *ibidem*, p. 129.

⁴⁷ HU, VII, no. 93.

⁴⁸ Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 286. For the sale of other Polish ships to Englishmen, see CCR 1392–96, pp. 200–201; 1429–35, p. 317; PRO, C1/12/153; Carus-Wilson, ed., *The Overseas Trade of Bristol*, pp. 64–65; Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 64, 67. Note, however, English complaints that the Gdańsk Council tried to stop these sales in 1440; see Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 223.

⁵⁰ Norfolk Record Office, Yarmouth Court Rolls, Y/C4/154, mm. 12d, 13. The custom on that sold by Paul Tanke was 10d, but Peter Fynk must have been selling a larger ship since he paid custom of 40d.

The lively trade in ships from Poland to English shipowners, along with the captures and confiscations that were a fixture in Anglo-Baltic relations, must have made the English familiar with the equipment and shipbuilding techniques of the region. They were certainly familiar with the shipbuilding products of the Baltic since ship timbers, masts, oars, and naval supplies such as pitch and tar were among the most frequent English imports from Prussia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵¹ “Easterlings” in London also provided pitch and tar to the English navy on several occasions.⁵² In fact, it was the availability and relatively low cost of the wood, pitch, tar, and other shipbuilding raw materials in Poland that helped to develop the Gdańsk shipbuilding industry.⁵³ But as Michael Postan and others have pointed out, foreign merchants’ demand for carrying capacity to ship the bulky cargoes of the Baltic also promoted the development of the Gdańsk shipbuilding industry. The English agent of three Bristol merchants in the 1430s, for example, insinuated that he had to purchase a local ship to carry back the large cargo he had acquired because he could not find sufficient freightage on another ship.⁵⁴ Along with this interest from abroad for larger ships, there was also a lively demand from the busy river traffic that connected Gdańsk and other Polish Baltic ports with the Polish, Hungarian, and Bohemian interior. It is telling, however, that the English were big enough customers that the decline of Anglo-Polish trade during the troublesome middle decades of the fifteenth century weakened the Gdańsk shipbuilding industry, although it did recover in the mid-sixteenth century.⁵⁵

The growing strength of Gdańsk shipping is also reflected in the increasingly varied and important role that Gdańsk vessels played in the European carrying trade. Too often scholars have concentrated on their role in the Baltic and Anglo-Baltic carrying trade, especially the direct route from Gdańsk to the eastern ports of England and

⁵¹ Childs, “Timber for Cloth,” pp. 181–211.

⁵² For example, PRO, E101/42/39.

⁵³ Małowist, “L’approvisionnement des ports de la Baltique en produits forestiers pour les constructions navales”: Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 64–65, 112–13. For this and the following, see also Postan, “Relations of England and the Hanse,” pp. 126, 140–41.

⁵⁴ Carus-Wilson, ed., *Overseas Trade of Bristol*, pp. 64–65.

⁵⁵ Postan, “Relations of England and the Hanse,” pp. 126, 140–41.

secondarily the indirect route via the Low Countries.⁵⁶ But Gdańsk ships were not all large bulk carriers, nor did they only carry Baltic products. They were becoming more active on other routes as well, including the cross-Channel wool trade, the Bay salt trade, and even the French wine trade.⁵⁷ Indeed, some Gdańsk ships seem not to have returned to their home port for long periods. The *Mary Knight* of Gdańsk skippered by John Winkerman, for example, sailed into the far western port of Exeter no fewer than five times in the year and a half between May 1415 and January 1417 with cargoes of salt from the Bay of Bourgneuf or wine from France.⁵⁸ Several Gdańsk ships were even sailing as far west as Iceland and Ireland and as far south as Iberia by the fifteenth century. By the sixteenth century, vessels from Gdańsk had penetrated the Mediterranean and were voyaging eastwards to Crete and Venice.⁵⁹ In their increasingly expansive role in the carrying trade, Gdańsk ships can be compared to the ships of Dartmouth in England and of Brittany in France, which served as the backbone of the carrying trade in the north Atlantic during the late Middle Ages.⁶⁰ The availability in Gdańsk of a large fleet of up-to-date, well rigged ships by the late fifteenth century must have further promoted the port's emergence as an important carrier in European sea transport. This fleet was made possible by not only the accessibility of entrepreneurial capital in Gdańsk and by the port's commercial grip on its productive hinterland, but also by the relatively low cost of shipbuilding in the port and its ready supply of experienced shipmasters and mariners.⁶¹

⁵⁶ For the high profile of Gdańsk ships in ports of the Low Countries, see Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 81–85, 118, 124.

⁵⁷ For their participation in the English wool trade to the Low Countries, see PRO, E122/93/30, 73/28, f.13v–15r. For their activities along the Bay of Bourgneuf (and Brouage) salt trade route, see Thisse, “Le commerce des hanséates,” pp. 131–80; and Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 39–44, 84–86, 118, 121, 224–25. For Polish and Prussian ships in Iberia, see *ibidem*, pp. 154, 173 n. 124; PRO, SC8/231/11529; *CPR 1401–5*, p. 424; *CCR 1402–5*, pp. 79, 94, 108; Hingeston, ed., *Royal and Historical Letters*, II, pp. 63–66; Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, p. 70; Favreau-Lilie, “Von Nord- und Ostsee ans ‘Ende der Welt’: Jakobspilger aus dem Hanseraum.” For their freighting of French wines, see n. 17, above; *CCR 1413–19*, p. 24; *CPR 1452–61*, p. 664; Gardiner, ed. *A Calendar of Early Chancery Proceedings*, pp. 90–91.

⁵⁸ Above, n. 17. For the following, see n. 22, above.

⁵⁹ Dollinger, *Hansa*, p. 346.

⁶⁰ For the Breton carrying trade, see Touchard, *Le commerce maritime Breton*; Cassard, “Les marins bretons,” pp. 379–97. For the high profile of Dartmouth in the English carrying trade, see Kowaleski, “Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage.”

⁶¹ Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 57–68, 88–92, 96–104; Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 40–44, 159–65; Małowist, “Bases économiques du retour de la Poméranie de

This analysis of late medieval shipping from ports in what is now Poland in English waters thus points to the growing dominance of Gdańsk ships in the Anglo-Baltic trade from Prussia, a dominance that became even more marked in the following century.⁶² It also indicates how focusing on the activities of specifically Polish ships can enrich the understanding of medieval shipping patterns with regard to how ships were named, the seasonality of their voyages, and their response to local conditions at English ports. Political factors had an especially potent impact on shipping from Polish ports to England. The strength and eventual downfall of rule by the Teutonic Knights over Prussia, for instance, was reflected in the initial dominance of the ship name *Mary Knight* and then the almost complete disappearance of the name after the Knights were ousted from rule. The regularity and profitability of voyages by Polish ships to England were heavily influenced by the wars of the Hansa with Denmark (1367–70) and with the Netherlands (1438–41), but even more severely by the Anglo-Hanseatic conflict of 1469–1474 and the privateering and piracy that all of these conflicts engendered, particularly in the fifteenth century when shipping throughout the North Atlantic and Baltic regions was often at great risk. It is a testament to the value of the Anglo-Baltic trade and to the entrepreneurial spirit of merchants, shipmasters, and mariners in Polish and English ports that shipping between the two persevered and eventually prospered.

Appendix *Polish Ships in England Database*

Database design and sources. The database was compiled in Microsoft Access 2003 with 32 fields. The most commonly used fields were SHIP NUMBER (a unique ID given to each ship in the database); PORT (the English port that the ship visited); EXEN (whether the ship exited or entered the port); TYPE (the nature of the ship's visit); two fields on SHIPNAME (the documentary and standardized name of the ship); two

Danzig à la Pologne au XV^e siècle;" Huszowski, "The Polish Baltic Trade in the 15th–18th Centuries."

⁶² Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 105–20; Dollinger, *Hansa*, pp. 346–49, 358–59, 430.

fields on HOMEPORT (the documentary and standardized name of the ship's homeport); three fields on the SHIPMASTER (two indicating the shipmaster's forename and surname as they appear in the document, and a third field with the standardized spelling of the shipmaster's surname and forename); DAY, MONTH, and YEAR (three fields indicating when the ship appeared at the port); CARGO (abbreviated list of what the ship was carrying); DOCUMENT (documentary reference); and NOTE (further details on the ship and the nature of its visit to England). Further data (especially for the ships recorded in the overseas customs accounts) were placed in fields detailing the value and contents of the cargo, as well as the number, ethnicity, and custom status of the merchants, and the region of the ship's homeport.

The most important sources of data were the overseas customs accounts of England, class E122 in The National Archives, Public Record Office, which accounted for about 78 percent of the database entries. The exact accounts used are listed below. Also useful were the printed *Calendar of Close Rolls* and *Calendar of Patent Rolls*,⁶³ which were examined for the years 1349–1509 and contributed 8 per cent of the database entries. About twenty-five archival and other printed sources were checked, but only a few provided three or more concrete references.⁶⁴

Overseas customs accounts. The following list reflects the organization of the accounts, which were composed by customs port, which are listed here in geographical order, from Newcastle in northeastern England, around the coast to Bristol in western England. The number in parentheses following each account indicates the number of Polish ships recorded in the account; note that a ship was counted each time it appeared in the account, for example, on entering or exiting the port.⁶⁵ Because of the very large number of extant accounts, it was

⁶³ CCR; CPR. The *Calendar of Fine Rolls* shows no relevant entries for the years 1377–1461.

⁶⁴ Archival sources providing at least three references were: PRO, C1, early Chancery proceedings; E101, naval accounts; and SC8, ancient petitions. Printed sources providing at least three references were: HU; HR; Kunze, ed., *Hanseakten*; Smit, ed. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis*; Hingeston, ed., *Royal and Historical Letters*; Owen, ed. *William Asshebourne's Book*.

⁶⁵ When accounts cover all or part of the same period, the ship's visit was only counted the first time it was recorded; thus E122/150/1 and 150/3 cover the same period, but since 150/3 was examined first, it has more Polish ships attributed to it.

only possible to check the detailed particular accounts. Spot checking of the summary accounts, receipts, cockets, and other subsidiary material in the E122 class at the Public Record Office indicated they contained almost no references to Polish ships. Attention was focused in particular on the east coast ports, since Polish ships rarely ventured to the western ports. The number of usable accounts was further reduced by the fact that many accounts (particularly in the first three-quarters of the fifteenth century) did not record a ship's home port, which initially made firm identification of Polish ships very difficult. But, matching Prussian cargoes in these accounts (when the shipmaster's name was recorded) with the lists of Polish shipmasters and Prussian (primarily Polish) ship entries to and exits from English ports that Stuart Jenks compiled allowed me to include a considerable percentage of all Polish ships recorded in the extant E122 accounts.⁶⁶

NEWCASTLE. All particular accounts from 1286 to 1401 were examined, and longer rolls for 1401–1453 (when very few particular accounts survive). For the period 1454–1500, the printed edition by J. C. Wade (20 ships) was used.⁶⁷ Polish ships also appear in: E122/106/1 (9), 106/3 (5), 106/4 (10), 106/5 (15), 106/18 (5), 106/24 (3), 106/30 (8), 106/31 (1), 106/32 (7), 106/41 (2).

SCARBOROUGH. These ports were usually included in the Hull accounts, but occasionally accounted separately. Only a few of the separate accounts from before 1453 were examined. Polish ships appear in: E122/134/7 (28) and accounts printed in Childs' edition of Hull accounts for 1453–90 (5).

HULL. All particular accounts for the period 1307–1500 were checked in the classes E122/56/ to 61/. Polish ships appear in the following: E122/58/14 (1), 59/1 (3), 59/2 (1), 59/3 (6), 59/7 (10), 59/8 (41), 59/14 (13), 59/15 (2), 59/19 (1), 59/20 (2), 59/24 (11), 59/25 (2), 59/26 (15), 60/2 (5), 61/32 (3), 61/71 (4), 62/1 (2), 62/4 (3), 62/7 (5), 62/9 (2), 62/11 (1), 63/1 (4), 63/8 (11), 159/11 (18), 160/1 (1); for the period 1454–1500, the printed edition by Wendy Childs (32 ships) was used; as a control, and for comparative purposes (see Table 3), all

The 2 ships counted for 150/1 (which is the controller's account of the collectors' account in 150/3) were for some reason not recorded in 150/3.

⁶⁶ Jenks, *England, die Hanse, und Preussen*, III pp. 847–982, 1149–57. Other sources used in this fashion are listed in the footnotes below.

⁶⁷ Wade, ed., *The Customs Accounts of Newcastle upon Tyne*.

other ships (698) which appeared in the Hull accounts for 1454–1500 were also entered into the database.⁶⁸

BOSTON. Prof. Steve Rigby kindly looked through his transcripts of Boston customs accounts (from 1286 to 1500) and provided very useful information on entries relating to Polish ships; those for 1377–99 are drawn from his edition.⁶⁹ The Boston accounts provide very few references in the first half of the fifteenth century, in part because the accounts rarely recorded a ship's home port. Those providing data were: E122/7/13 (1), 7/17 (1), 7/21 (8), 7/22 (7), 7/30 (3), 7/31 (2), 8/2 (2), 8/21 (1), 8/25 (2), 10/7 (2), 10/8 (2), 11/4 (6), 11/8 (8), 11/14 (6).

LYNN. All particular accounts from 1303 to 1503 were checked in the classes E122/93/ to 98/. Unfortunately, the Lynn accounts often omit the name of the ship's homeport, although it is clear from the cargoes that many ships there were from Poland. Polish ships appear in: E122/93/31(13), 94/12 (15), 94/13 (6), 94/14 (18), 84/15 (11), 94/16 (17), 96/35 (3), 96/37 (1), 96/41 (5), 97/6, 97/7 (7),⁷⁰ 97/8 (2), 97/9 (5),⁷¹ 97/18 (2), 98/1 (4), 98/5 (1), 98/7 (8), 98/9 (2), 98/10 (1), 98/11 (3), 98/14 (8), 98/16 (11), 159/8 (8). The accounts for some years (E122/94/14, 97/8, and 98/16, along with part of E122/94/16) are printed by Gras; that for E122/97/4 is printed by Owen.⁷²

YARMOUTH. Particular accounts from 1293 to 1340 in E122/148/ and stray accounts in E122/185/ and 194/ were spot-checked, but all particular accounts for 1341–1495 in E122/149/ to 152/ were surveyed. Many of the accounts from the fifteenth century, however, do not record the ships' homeports. Polish ships appear in: E122/148/27 (2), 149/16 (1), 149/22 (3), 149/27 (6), 149/28 (7), 149/33 (1), 149/34 (3), 149/36 (6), 150/1 (3), 150/3 (16), 150/7 (1), 151/38 (1), and 194/9 (7). There were no ships from Polish ports in the few extant accounts for the second half of the fifteenth century. Note that these accounts often include such sub-ports as Blakeney, Kirkeley, Orford, and Dunwich. Polish ships are also recorded in the local port customs

⁶⁸ Childs, ed., *Customs Accounts of Hull*.

⁶⁹ Rigby, ed., *The Overseas Trade of Boston in the Reign of Richard II*.

⁷⁰ See also Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 185, n. 22.

⁷¹ See also Fudge, *Cargoes*, pp. 41–42, 217.

⁷² Gras, *Early English Customs System*, pp. 435–52, 526–53, 646–84; Owen, ed., *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 366–78.

accounts of Yarmouth, attached to the city's court rolls:⁷³ 1378/9 (9),⁷⁴ 1379/80 (4), 1380/1 (1), 1381/2 (2), 1384/5 (2), 1388/9 (1), 1390/1 (1), 1427/8 (1), 1428/9 (1).

IPSWICH. Some fifteen scattered accounts from 1382 to 1491 were checked; the fifteenth-century accounts rarely record a ship's name or home port. Polish ships appear in E122/51/29 (12), 51/39 (4), 52/44 (2).

LONDON. All London particular accounts from 1390 to 1451 were checked, thanks to the generosity of Stuart Jenks, who gave me a copy of his transcriptions of the London customs accounts for this period. Although few of the London accounts record a ship's name or home port, matching the names of shipmasters of ships with obviously Prussian cargoes with the names of Polish ships and Prussian/Polish ship entries and exits listed by Jenks made it possible to identify a fairly large percentage of Polish ships visiting London in this period. Most particular accounts from 1380 to 1390 and 1460 to 1491 were also checked. Polish ships appear in: E122/71/13 (16), 72/4 (4), 72/17 (4), 73/5 (1), 73/10 (13), 73/12 (15), 73/20A (11), 73/20B (6), 73/28 (2), 74/11 (4), 76/31 (1), 76/32 (3), 76/34 (5), 76/42 (2), 77/1 (4), 77/3 (3), 78/9 (9),⁷⁵ 161/11 (6), 165/14 (1), 194/12 (1), 194/15 (4), 194/24 and 25 (8),⁷⁶ 194/20 (1), 194/26 (5), 203/1 (1), and 203/2 (3).

SANDWICH. Only a few particular accounts were surveyed, but few recorded Polish ships except for E122/127 (2), although the spare detail offered in these accounts about home ports and ship names made it difficult to identify ships. No others were checked because other scholarly work indicates that Baltic shipping and goods rarely came into this port.⁷⁷

CHICHESTER, including Winchelsea, Rye, Pevensey and Hastings. Two late fourteenth-century accounts were examined, but they recorded no

⁷³ I thank Stuart Jenks for giving me data on Polish ships at Yarmouth for the extant accounts in 1378–85, 1428–9 as in Norfolk Record Office, Yarmouth court rolls, Y/C4/90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 136, 137. I transcribed the data for Y/C4/154 (1446–7).

⁷⁴ This account is partly transcribed by Smit, *Bronnen*, no. 576, who distinguishes 9 ships of Gdańsk or Elbląg; Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, III, pp. 1259, lists 6 Prussian ships this year.

⁷⁵ See also Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 117.

⁷⁶ Printed in Cobb, ed., *The Overseas Trade of London*.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, I, pp. 287–88; III, pp. 1052–64, 1191–98; Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 95, 163, 220–21; Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 36.

Polish ships. No others were checked because there is no evidence this port and its members were frequented by Baltic shipping.⁷⁸

SOUTHAMPTON. Most particular accounts from 1382 to 1404 were checked, along with several mid fifteenth-century accounts, and the local port customs accounts printed by the Southampton Record Society for the period 1426 to 1510.⁷⁹ Although ship names and home ports were rarely recorded in these accounts, there were very few merchants listed as Hanseatic, and little evidence that Baltic ships frequently visited this port. Ships from Polish ports appear in E122/138/24 (1), 142/2 (2),⁸⁰ 193/25 (1),⁸¹ 193/29 (1); they also appear in the local accounts for 1426/7 (4) and 1428/9 (1).⁸²

DORSET PORTS. There is no evidence that Polish ships visited the ports of Poole, Melcombe, Weymouth, Bridport, or Lyme. Particular accounts from 1383–4, 1386–7, 1487–8, and 1492–3 were examined without success.

EXETER AND DARTMOUTH. All particular accounts from 1286 to 1411 were checked, and most particular accounts from 1412 to 1499. Also examined were all the local port customs accounts of Exeter, which record all incoming ships and their cargoes for the period 1266 to 1500.⁸³ Polish ships appeared in the Exeter local customs for 1414/15 (2), 1415/16 (2), 1416/17 (2), and 1424/5 (1).

PLYMOUTH AND CORNISH PORTS. Since Baltic ships infrequently visited Plymouth or the Cornish ports, only their late fourteenth-century accounts (when they were part of the Exeter customs jurisdiction) were surveyed in full. By the fifteenth century they had separated from Exeter and formed their own customs jurisdiction; scattered accounts in the fifteenth century were examined, except for the 1460s and 1490s when all the extant particular accounts were checked. The havener's

⁷⁸ Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preußen*, I, p. 288; Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ Studer, ed., *The Port Books of Southampton* (5 ships); Quinn and Ruddock, eds., *The Port Books, or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton*; Cobb, ed., *The Local Port Book of Southampton*; Foster, ed., *The Local Port Book of Southampton*; James, ed., *The Port Book of Southampton*; Lewis, ed., *The Southampton Port and Brokage Books*.

⁸⁰ See also Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 36.

⁸¹ See also Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse*, p. 95.

⁸² Printed in Studer, ed., *The Port Books of Southampton*, who misidentifies the 1426/7 account as 1428/9 and who misattributes ships of *Densk* as ships of Denmark.

⁸³ These accounts are in the Devon Record Office, Exeter City Archives, Local Port Customs; see also Kowaleski, ed., *Local Customs Accounts of the Port of Exeter*. These accounts survive for over 70% of the years from 1380 to 1500.

accounts, which recorded prisage and maltote customs in the Cornish ports and Plymouth were also checked for the fourteenth and early fifteenth century; references to ships from Polish ports were found in Duchy of Cornwall Office, Duchy Account 28 (1 at Plymouth), PRO, SC6/818/7, m. 9d (1 at Falmouth).⁸⁴

BRIDGWATER AND BRISTOL. Only fifteen particular accounts for the period 1321–1498 were examined. Polish ships appear in E122/16/4 (1), 16/19 (2),⁸⁵ 19/5 (1).⁸⁶

⁸⁴ See also Kowaleski, ed., *Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287–1356*.

⁸⁵ The accounts for E122/16/4 and 16/19 are printed in Carus-Wilson, ed., *Overseas Trade of Bristol*, pp. 180–203, as is that for 1476 and 1479–80 (pp. 203–89) which record no Polish ships.

⁸⁶ See also Fudge, *Cargoes*, p. 35.

COMPARISONS: RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE

PREACHING ON MARTYR-BISHOPS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: SAINT STANISLAUS OF KRAKÓW AND SAINT THOMAS BECKET

Stanislava Kuzmová

The fates of St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus appear similar at first sight: a virtuous life, service to their kings, becoming bishops, defending the Church and morals, coming into conflict with the king, and a martyr's death. The analysis of late medieval Latin sermons on these two can help identify and clarify the connections and analogies between their cults, and also their individual differences and particularities. In recent decades, sermon studies have flourished, especially in western Europe, and shed new light on various aspects of medieval society and religiosity.¹ This avenue of investigation has also a great deal to say to hagiography and history of saints' cults, although sermons on saints have still not received sufficient attention within hagiographic research.²

The observations on Stanislaus' sermons set out below are based mostly on manuscripts.³ The sermons on St. Thomas come partly from manuscript research, a manuscript text from Kraków,⁴ an edited text⁵ and mostly on the work of Phyllis Roberts, who compiled an inventory of sermons and analysed the preaching on Thomas.⁶

St. Thomas of Canterbury was a popular saint for preaching, one of the most popular besides the founders of religious orders and

¹ For a recent summary of sermon studies see e.g. Kienzle, *The Sermon*, with a rich bibliography.

² Ferzoco, "The Context of Medieval Sermon."

³ The author is currently writing a Ph.D. dissertation: *Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Sermons on Saint Stanislaus and Their Role in the Construction of His Image and Cult (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century)* at the Medieval Studies Department, Central European University (CEU), Budapest. See her article on this topic: "Preaching a Model Bishop," pp. 53–64.

⁴ Bibl Czart, Ms. 3413 III, f. 21v–23v.

⁵ "In festo sancti Thomae archiepiscopi Canthuariensis," Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, pp. 344–47. Another edited "Sermo de sancto Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo," appears in *Sermones compilati*, pp. 61–62.

⁶ Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, pp. 9–45; Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction," pp. 1–22.

biblical saints.⁷ The cult and sermons on the saintly Englishman are found in all parts of Europe, whereas the preaching on St. Stanislaus was tied primarily to the saint's native geographical region, i.e. Polish lands, and to the places of his cult in neighbouring countries where his feast was observed as of the highest liturgical level—with a sermon prescribed. Thus, although both saints were officially canonized by the pope, becoming “universal” saints *de iure*, the cult of the saintly Pole did not spread so widely.

Thomas and Stanislaus were both historical personalities, but while there were almost no contemporaneous reports concerning the details of Stanislaus' life,⁸ there were abundant historical reports on Thomas of Canterbury by his own contemporaries and friends.⁹ Moreover, he was canonised only a few years after his death. He died on December 29, 1170 and was canonised on February 21, 1173. In contrast St. Stanislaus' canonisation came almost 200 years after his death. He died probably in 1079 and was canonised on September 17, 1253.¹⁰ Thus, some preserved sermon texts retell actual details of Becket's life, career and martyrdom, some of the preachers having been authentic witnesses and his contemporaries. Similarly to some of his hagiographers, they brought an image of the “historical” Becket into their sermons,¹¹ which the Polish late medieval preachers could hardly offer for Stanislaus. In general, the sermons on Becket, as well as his official cult as a canonised saint, are earlier. This fact has led to various theories about the dependence of Stanislaus' cult on Becket's and direct connections between the two cults.

⁷ Ferzoco, “Sermon literatures concerning Late Medieval Saints,” pp. 121–22.

⁸ There is a huge literature on the authenticity and veracity of sources on Stanislaus, and the “*factum sancti Stanislai*.” For an overview of sources see e.g. Plezia, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława* and Rajman, “Przedkanonizacyjny kult św. Stanisława,” pp. 5–49.

⁹ For a comprehensive collection of sources concerning St. Thomas, including the *vitae* and his correspondence, see *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*. Four of Becket's biographers were perhaps actually present when he was murdered. Roberts, “Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction,” pp. 4–6.

¹⁰ For the canonisation of St Stanislaus of Kraków, see the canonisation bull of Innocent IV, in the *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, no. 38, 48–51.

¹¹ Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, pp. 20–21 for the preachers who knew Becket (no. 31 by Herbert Bosham, and nos. 53 and 149 by Gervase of Chichester). For the analysis of an “historical” Becket in sermons, see *Ibidem*, pp. 28–30.

Many historians believe that the great popularity of holy bishops persecuted and often killed in a conflict with a king was triggered by the death and quick canonisation of Thomas Becket, the model martyr-bishop. Statistically, the “suffering leader,” either a king or a bishop, was the dominant type of saint in the non-Mediterranean territory of Latin Christian Europe, that is the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Eastern Europe, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.¹² André Vauchez believes that cults of these “Becket duplications” enjoyed great success in the countries with a powerful episcopate and a monarchy weakened by the increasing power of the aristocracy.¹³ These cults, St. Stanislaus’ cult among them, manifested the prestige and ambitions of the episcopate and the clergy at the expense of the royal power.¹⁴ In the past, that is mostly up to the mid-twentieth century, several Polish historians claimed that the canonisation of Thomas of Canterbury inspired the origins or the resurgence of the cult of Stanislaus of Kraków. They searched for analogies in the hagiographic accounts, especially Master Vincent’s *Chronica Polonorum* and in the liturgy.¹⁵ However, after the sources had been examined closely, other historians demonstrated that the direct influence of Thomas Becket representations on those of Stanislaus, especially the hagiographic lives,¹⁶ was less significant than had been expected. Still, the success of St Thomas’ cult may well have instigated

¹² Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 158, 167–73; the model of bishop-saint is described *ibidem*, pp. 285–310. The list of thirteenth-century bishop-saints includes such names as Thomas of Hereford, Robert Grosseteste, and Engelbert of Cologne, among others, but also some unsuccessful supplications, like the Hungarian Lucas Bánffy, Archbishop of Esztergom. See also Goodich, *Vita perfecta*, pp. 142–46.

¹³ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 167–73. A recent summary of the reception of the Becket cult in Europe and the meanings of the cults of martyr-bishops, as well as some connections with the Stanislaus cult in Poland, is provided also by Walczak, “Alter Christus” *Studia*, pp. 53–87, on St. Stanislaus on 86. A short summary on martyr-bishops and cult connections also can be found in Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich*, pp. 211–42.

¹⁴ A great deal on the support of the Stanislaus cult by the bishops of Kraków (Prandota, Zbigniew Oleśnicki) appears e.g. in the author’s MA thesis: Kuzmová, “The Construction of the Image and Cult,” esp. pp. 24–36, 46–66. Other bishops besides Stanislaus of Kraków were venerated; there were attempts to establish bishops’ cults in various regions of Poland.

¹⁵ Danuta Borawska maintained that the story as well as the first liturgy for Stanislaus’ feast was modeled on the popular contemporary Becket pattern. The story is in Kadłubek, *Chronica Polonorum*, pp. 55–56. For the liturgy Borawska relied only on the Cistercian statutes. Borawska, *Ż dziejów jednej legendy*.

¹⁶ Uruszczak, “Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket,” pp. 122–24. Uruszczak showed that the thesis of the dependence of Master Vincent’s account on the lives of St Thomas is not well supported. Moreover, Plezia pointed out that there

the canonisation efforts of Kraków bishops. Waclaw Schenk refuted the hypothesis of the dependence on the cult of St Thomas on the basis of his analysis of Silesian liturgical books. He argued that the model for Stanislaus' liturgy was rather the *commune* of the martyrs and the formulary of St. Wojciech-Adalbert.¹⁷ He claimed that the formularies of St. Thomas and Stanislaus started to resemble each other only later, in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁸

Nevertheless, St. Thomas of Canterbury was venerated in Poland shortly after his death (to a certain extent at least).¹⁹ The annals noted his martyrdom, his feast was marked in several calendars, including the Kraków Cathedral Chapter, and a manuscript of his *miracula* was available.²⁰ Cistercian liturgical books of Silesian provenance constitute evidence of St Thomas' cult as early as the thirteenth century.²¹ At the turn of the fourteenth century, his legend also spread in manuscripts of the popular *Legenda aurea*.²² A chapel and an altar were built in the cathedral at Wawel hill some time in the course of the thirteenth century. The collegiate church in Racibórz, founded by Thomas II, Bishop of Wrocław, was dedicated to him (1288).²³

Generally speaking, preaching on St. Thomas or St. Stanislaus was prescribed at the places where their feasts were of great liturgical significance. That meant more locations for Thomas than for Stanislaus

are no traces of Becket's *vitae* in the *Vita minor* and *Vita maior* of St. Stanislaus; Plezia, "Wincenty z Kielc," p. 33.

¹⁷ There are also analogies between the cults and images of St. Stanislaus and St. Adalbert, both martyr-bishops, which this paper does not focus on.

¹⁸ See Schenk, "Zagadnienie zależności kultu św. Stanisława," pp. 73–85; and Schenk, *Kult liturgiczny św. Stanisława*, pp. 70–71, 116.

¹⁹ Uruszczak, "Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket," pp. 116–19; Borawska, *Ż dziejów jednej legendy*, pp. 20–28.

²⁰ Uruszczak, "Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket," p. 116. The manuscript of the *Miracula s. Thomae* by Benedict of Peterborough came from the library of Iwo Odrowąż, see below, page 74.

²¹ For a list of Silesian Cistercian liturgical codices with formularies for the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, see Schenk, "Zagadnienie zależności kultu św. Stanisława," pp. 76–78.

²² Da Varazze, "De sancto Thoma Cantuariensi," pp. 103–107. The oldest manuscripts of the *Legenda aurea* appeared in Poland in the first half of the fourteenth century, usually enriched by its "Polish compendium" of legends. Its first echoes are found already in the sermons by Peregrinus of Opole from the turn of the fourteenth century. For more on the dissemination of the *Legenda aurea* in Polish lands and the list of its Polish manuscripts, see Plezia, "Introduction."

²³ Uruszczak, "Les repercussions de la mort de Thomas Becket," p. 118. Wolny dates the foundation of the collegiate church to 1292; Wolny, "Peregryn z Opola i kolekcja jego kazań *de tempore* i *de sanctis*," in *Peregryn z Opola*, pp. 28–29.

in the European context, naturally, but at the same time it also meant rather fewer opportunities to preach on Becket in Polish lands. The preaching on St. Thomas appeared in some places in the region in the second half of the thirteenth century at the latest. It was the time when the first sermons on newly canonised Stanislaus must also have been delivered, although only later texts are preserved. When Polish preachers spoke about Becket, it was predominantly for clerical audiences in chapters or convents.

It appears that only a rather small number of manuscript sermons on St. Thomas,²⁴ and only a few sermons composed by native authors, were in circulation in codices in Central Europe. Schneyer's repertory of medieval Latin manuscript sermons lists sermons on Becket by a few fifteenth-century authors connected with Poland such as the Czech Jan Štěkna (Szczekna), who was active in Kraków, and the Silesian Nicolaus Verenkorn (Magni de Jawor), professor in Prague and Heidelberg, manuscripts of both in Munich, and further in Central Europe the Hungarian Pelbartus Ladislav de Temesvar. But it does not mention any manuscripts in Poland that contain these homilies.²⁵ Phyllis Roberts identified as many as 184 Latin texts on Becket between 1170 and 1400, mostly in western Europe. However, her inventory did not give uniform representative coverage of the area of Polish lands. She listed only a manuscript of the sermon on St. Thomas of Canterbury by the Silesian Dominican Peregrinus of Opole (ca. 1260–1333).²⁶

Peregrinus' collection *de sanctis* circulated widely in the later Middle Ages and was still popular in the fifteenth century. The sermons on

²⁴ For the overview and distribution of other collections *de sanctis* which contained a sermon on St. Thomas of Canterbury by non-native authors in Polish lands, a further investigation of manuscripts and catalogues is needed. The data provided by Schneyer and Roberts are not sufficient for such an investigation; Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*, CD-ROM. On the basis of a preliminary overview of Schneyer's repertories up to 1350, at least the collection *de sanctis* by Jacob of Voragine, which contained 3 sermons on St Thomas, was in circulation in Polish lands.

²⁵ For these three sermons, see the electronic repertory of Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*, CD-ROM. A complex investigation of the Polish libraries and archives that do not have comprehensive catalogues would be necessary in order to provide a complete list of manuscript sermons on St. Thomas. Some texts may still be discovered, perhaps not many though. However, e.g. the eight volumes of the comprehensive catalogue of the Jagiellonian Library do not list any sermon on him; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum mediæ ævi Latinorum*.

²⁶ Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, no. 150, pp. 206–207; in Vatican Cod. Palat. Lat. 465, f. 106v–108r.

Becket and Stanislaus were in one volume.²⁷ There are more manuscripts containing this model sermon collection in several Polish libraries.²⁸ He may have preached at the Dominican church in Racibórz to friars and burghers and also at the princely court.²⁹ As Wolny noted, the Dominican Peregrinus could have preached on St. Thomas in Racibórz castle chapel in the 1290s, when the memory of the conflict of Thomas II, Bishop of Wrocław, with Henry IV, the Prince of Wrocław, was still fresh. There is no precise information whether, where and when Peregrinus delivered his sermons, but he must have witnessed the conflict. The dispute lasted from 1282 till 1288.³⁰ In a sermon on the *thema*³¹ *Sacerdos magnus, qui unctus est oleo, moriatur*,³² Peregrinus called for a return of many clerics who had been forced into exile. Bishop Thomas himself also left Wrocław in 1285 and found exile at Prince Mieszko's court in Racibórz and also in Kraków. Peregrinus explicitly claimed the supremacy of spiritual power over secular power: "He had a power higher than all the princes and kings of this world."³³ St. Thomas himself spent many years in exile in the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny and at Sens.

From a later period, there is a text on St. Thomas in the *Passionale de sanctis* or *Passionale Stanislai de Skarbimiria cum optimis doctrinis popularibus* from around 1430 attributed by the scribe to Stanislaus of

²⁷ Peregrinus' sermons are edited in Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, on St Thomas, pp. 344–47, on St. Stanislaus "In festo sancti Stanislai episcopi et martyris," pp. 584–91.

²⁸ Among other manuscripts of Peregrinus' sermons, some with modifications, are those in: BJ 1617; Kórnik, 53; BUWr I Q 280; BUWr I F 527; BUWr I Q 355; Gniezno Chapter Library 24; Prague, Chapter Library, F 65; Prague, Chapter Library, F 71, etc.

²⁹ For Peregrinus and his collection, see Wolny, "Łaciński zbiór kazań Peregryna z Opola," pp. 180–95; and Antoni Podsiad, "Introduction to Peregrinus de Opole," *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, VII–XXIII.

³⁰ Wolny, "Peregryn z Opola i kolekcja jego kazań *de tempore* i *de sanctis*," in *Peregryn z Opola*, pp. 28–29. The foundation of St. Thomas' collegiate church in Racibórz is also connected with these events, cf. note 23. For more on the conflict and the position of the Dominicans, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy*, esp. pp. 181–85.

³¹ The presence of a *thema* was an important feature of medieval scholastic sermons. It was usually a Biblical verse taken from the liturgy of the day. The *thema* preceded the sermon. It is found in almost all late medieval sermon manuscripts. In the ideal case also the content and structure of the sermon was to be derived from this verse.

³² "Until the death of the high priest, which was anointed with holy oil." Number 35.25.

³³ See Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, p. 344: "**Maioris igitur potestatis fuit quam omnes principes vel reges huius mundi**, qui praeponuntur super corpus et non super animam, sed sacerdotes utrumque, quia 'quodcumque ligaveritis super terram, etc.' [Mt 16,19]." (emphasis mine).

Skarbimiria (ca. 1360–1431).³⁴ There again, the work contains texts on both saints.³⁵ The *Passionale* contains accounts consisting of a sort of a *thema* discussion or an introduction and an account of a saint's life based on a legend. The texts—*historia cum themate* in the author's words—resemble a homiletic genre. They were probably designed for reading and preaching. They could have been delivered as sermons or at least served as a preaching aid.

Both Polish authors mainly used the legend of St. Thomas from the *Legenda aurea* collection for the details of his life and miracles although the author of the *Passionale* used some other sources as well.³⁶ Moreover, he explicitly referred to the *Legenda aurea* in two places.³⁷ In both collections that contain texts on Stanislaus and Thomas in the same volume, the authors do not directly connect the two saints or refer to the other when dealing with one of them. However, the discussion and the structure of Peregrinus' sermons on St. Thomas and Stanislaus resemble each other. They both discuss the dignity of episcopal office and the bishop's sanctity. They both mention the infuriated kings and the bishops' subsequent deaths. The fifteenth-century texts ascribed to Stanislaus of Skarbimiria by the manuscript copist, however, differ from each other in their focus. His sermon on Becket discusses the issue of his martyrdom and its noble and moral cause as an outcome of a virtuous life. The *historia cum themate* on Stanislaus focuses rather on historical details and explains the place of St. Stanislaus in Polish history. It represents an exception among the mostly deliberately "ahistorical" works and speeches by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, all rich in scriptural references.³⁸

³⁴ "De sancto Thoma Cantuariensi," Bibl Czart, Ms. 3413 III, f. 21v–23v.

³⁵ "De sancto Stanislao Polonorum seu Sarmatarum alumno," Bibl Czart, Kraków, Ms. 3413 III, f. 69v–87r.

³⁶ He could have used some liturgical sources, which deserves further investigation. A miracle account on St. Thomas' chastity and a gift from the Virgin Mary (*Ibidem*, f. 22v–23r) appears in a fifteenth-century chronicle of Hermannus Corner (1430), cf. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, vol. 2, pp. 297–98.

³⁷ For example *vide Lombardicam*, f. 23v. For other issues taken over from the *Legenda aurea*, see note 22.

³⁸ Stanislaus of Skarbimiria (died in 1431), a doctor of canon law and university professor, one of the most distinguished intellectuals of the era, used to preach to university students but also to clergy in the Kraków cathedral (between 1392 and 1423). For Stanislaus of Skarbimiria and his preaching, see Wolny, "Uwagi nad kaznodziejstwem uniwersyteckim," pp. 36–43. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria's sermon on the feast of St. Stanislaus in the Ms. BJ 190, f. 315–317 is ahistorical as is the rest of his homiletic dossier. This is the main reason why Roman Zawadzki refutes the attribution of the

Polish compositions on Becket were not that numerous. Still, many intellectuals must have come across the personality of St. Thomas of Canterbury and probably also knew of preaching on him through their foreign contacts. Already at the turn of the thirteenth century, Poles studied at universities in Italy such as Bologna and Padua, and in France and later in Prague, before the university in Kraków was founded. Paris was attractive for the Poles at the turn of the thirteenth century. Future bishops of Kraków, Iwo Odrowąż (1218–1229), and later John Radlica (1382–1392), studied in Paris.³⁹ The Becket cause, as well as many other issues of political theory and ecclesiastical rights, that is questions of a political-ecclesiastical nature were well known and discussed in learned circles in Paris then.⁴⁰ There the Polish clerics must have come across the activities of Stephen Langton, later Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided over the translation of St. Thomas' relics in 1220.⁴¹ The echo of Langton's efforts and festive translation must have reached Polish lands in the time when the cult of martyred Stanislaus started to flourish. The alumni of foreign universities also brought some sermon codices with them from abroad. Some contemporary preaching models by French authors such as Honorius Augustodunensis and Helinand of Froidmont were available in the Kraków milieu, for instance. Iwo donated some volumes to the cathedral chapter library. The channels existed through which Polish preachers could be inspired by Becket sermons. Nevertheless, it is still not clear if they really saw homiletic texts on St. Thomas as models for their own compositions and preaching on St. Stanislaus.

Out of the corpus of roughly 40 sermon texts on St. Stanislaus, three contain explicit mentions of St. Thomas Becket. This is the evidence of direct connections between the preaching on the two saints, that is that preachers saw Thomas as an inspiration when speaking

collection to Stanislaus of Skarbimierza. Zawadzki also argued that such a distinguished author could have not written such a "compilation." He also remarked that a copy of the same work, probably, in the Archives of the Polish Dominican Province Ms. R XV 35 was not ascribed to Stanislaus of Skarbimierza. See Zawadzki, *Spuścizna pisarska Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, pp. 24–26, see also pp. 100, 147–48.

³⁹ Ożóg, *Kultura umysłowa*, pp. 15, 19–20, 110, 180; see also David, *Étudiants polonaise*; Gieysztor, "Mistrzowie polscy," pp. 213–25.

⁴⁰ Walczak, "Alter Christus" *Studia*, pp. 62–68. See also Smalley, *The Becket Conflict*.

⁴¹ Langton's teaching career in Paris lasted twenty-five years, until 1206. He came to Paris around 1170 as a student. In 1207 he became the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was also preaching to popular and learned audiences in Paris. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*. More on the translation below.

of Stanislaus. In the fifteenth-century manuscript BJ 1626 the author compared Stanislaus' martyr's death to several other martyrs, and the seventh in line was St. Thomas. He wrote that St. Stanislaus died "for the liberty of the Church as did Thomas, the Bishop of Canterbury."⁴² Another short reference to St. Thomas is found in a fifteenth-century Dominican sermon from the Racibórz monastery in Silesia, the same place where Peregrinus lived.⁴³ The anonymous author of a sermon entitled *De sancto Colomano, Stanislao vel Venceslao*,⁴⁴ in the middle of a rather general discussion of martyrdom and its causes, mentioned that martyrs suffered death:

For defense of the Church and its liberties, like Blessed Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, and Blessed Stanislaus, Bishop of Kraków, who were indeed killed, having been innocent, without a proper cause and unjustly.⁴⁵

The authors saw analogies in the saints' innocent deaths for the sake of defending the Church. Another mention of Becket occurs in the sermon delivered by Nicolaus of Kozłów at the Council of Basel.⁴⁶ The author wrongly related that St. Stanislaus had studied at the University of Paris together with St. Thomas and, moreover, they had also been friends.⁴⁷ Further, God revealed that both were to suffer martyrdom during their episcopates for the well being of all and for liberty of the Church (*"pro salute omnium et ecclesie libertatibus"*). However, a marginal gloss adjusted the incorrect information, which did not come from authentic sources, as the writer remarked, as the saints were not contemporaries.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the preacher probably tried to associate Stanislaus with Thomas, in order to make the

⁴² BJ 1626, f. 153r: "*Septimo pro libertate ecclesie ut Thomas episcopus Canthuariensis.*"

⁴³ Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order, Kraków, Ms. R XV 16, f. 269r–270v.

⁴⁴ It is a rare dedication, for these three saints together.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 270r: "*Sexto pro ecclesie tam ut pro libertate ecclesie observanda vel defendenda, ut beatus Thomas episcopus Canthuariensis et beatus Stanislaus episcopus Cracoviensis; imo qui sine causa demerita innocenter et iniuste interficitur.*"

⁴⁶ Markowski, "Mikołaj z Kozłowa," pp. 76–141.

⁴⁷ "Sermo sancti Stanislai," BJ 1614, f. 86: "*ad studium generale venisset in unum fraternitatem cum beato Thoma Cantuariensi,*" etc. Another copy of the same sermon is included in the manuscript Oxford, Balliol College 165a, f. 744b–748 (= 844–848); a reference in Kot, *Anglo-polonica*, pp. 56–57.

⁴⁸ BJ 1614, f. 86: "*Istud non potest verificari ex aliquibus cronicis autenticis, eo quod constet beatum Thomam Cantuariensem occisum fuisse post occisionem sancti Stanislai anno domini Millesimo centesimo septuagessimio, sanctum autem Stanislaum anno domini Millesimo septuagessimio octavo ex cronicis autenticis et veris.*"

message clear to the hearers who must have known the latter, unlike the former. Similarly, these three authors marked the analogy of the saints' martyrdom for ecclesiastical liberty.

Besides the direct references to St. Thomas, one can find more implicit connections, analogies, and similarities between the two corpora. In many cases, preachers on the feasts of Stanislaus and Thomas used the same scriptural references. In both cases, many references were based upon and taken from the liturgical readings and offices for their feasts. In general, the content and the structure of a sermon was mostly derived from a liturgical *thema*. What he chose to address and how he developed the issues suggested by the text depended on the preacher and the circumstances.

Starting from the most general features, medieval sermons on the two holy bishops, as with texts on various other saints, discussed their thaumaturgic power against all diseases, natural phenomena, and sins. A typical Biblical *thema* for this kind of sermon that appears in both saints' corpora was e.g. *Mirificavit Deus sanctum suum*.⁴⁹ This particular verse did not occur frequently, but the topic of miracles could be addressed under all *themata* and appeared recurrently. In order to demonstrate their sanctity, preachers on St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus brought in *exempla* from their miracle collections and lives. Another topic common not only for these two saints, but also for saints in general, was their having gained the crown of sanctity.⁵⁰ In addition, especially in sermons meant for their *translatio* feasts, various senses of translation referring to their sanctity were explained.⁵¹ These were characteristic features of medieval sermons *de sanctis* in general.

More specifically, preachers used to discuss the history of their martyrdoms which both St. Stanislaus and St. Thomas suffered in conflict with kings. As martyrs, both bishops were likened to Christ. Frequently, the discussion of martyrdom was intertwined with the topic of good shepherd. Sermons on Stanislaus usually provided only a short description of his martyrdom, taken from the *vita*. In sermons on Becket his martyrdom appears to have been a more emphasised and prominent

⁴⁹ Ps 4.4. The *thema* appears for St. Thomas once and for St. Stanislaus twice at least.

⁵⁰ Typically, several types of metaphoric crown were mentioned: the verses *Data est ei corona* (Ap 6.2) and *Non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit* (2 Tim 2.5) stood as *themata* in several sermons on both saints.

⁵¹ Typical verses were from the Old Testament: *Placuit Deo et translatus est* (Eccl 44.16), *Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradisum* (Gn 5.24).

theme.⁵² Several passages taken from a martyr's *commune* stood as Biblical *themata* for Becket sermons, while they did not appear in sermons for Stanislaus' feast.⁵³

When discussing the conflict between both saints and the rulers, the preachers described and attacked the vices and errors of Henry II of England and Boleslaus II of Poland, their proud and tyrannic behaviour towards their nobles and subjects, their moral defects and their suppression of Church liberties. Like other contemporary preachers, Stephen Langton also complained about the vices of secular kingship. Boleslaus I or for the English William Rufus, often were presented as antitheses of the good king who rules himself and his subjects with wisdom and justice. In one of his sermons not on Becket, Langton quoted the Book of the Maccabees as an instance of a people's refusal to yield to tyranny.⁵⁴ Polish preachers often presented King Boleslaus II as an exemplar of the evil king, as other hagiographic sources did. They described Boleslaus' vices, his fury, oppression of his subjects,⁵⁵ his adultery,⁵⁶ and so on. On the other hand, the preacher Bartholomew of Jasł (1360–1407)⁵⁷ noted that in his own times God selected a prince, namely Vladislaus Jagiello, as the head of the kingdom who did not at all resemble the evil Boleslaus, murderer of St. Stanislaus, but followed the saintly bishop, helping to destroy the vices of Boleslaus' descendants.⁵⁸

⁵² The issue is analysed in Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, pp. 34–42.

⁵³ For example, verses from the passage from John 12.24–26—*Nisi granum frumenti* and other variations appeared in as many as 11 texts in Roberts' inventory, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*; the passage from Ecclesiasticus 4.33—*Pro iustitia agonizare* and variations appeared in as many as 12 texts in Roberts' inventory, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*.

⁵⁴ Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, p. 130.

⁵⁵ Peregrinus de Opole, "In festo sancti Stanislai," p. 587: "*fuit tantus tyrannus, quod ubicumque transibat in terra sua et stationem secundum modum Polonicum faciebat, annonas pauperum et omnia quae habebant, violenter auferebat et domus eorum destruebat et saepes comburebat, nobiles terre sine causa decollabat. Canes plus quam homines diligebat...*" Cf. *Vita sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis*, p. 371. This passage was repeated in several sermons.

⁵⁶ For example, BJ 1619, f. 313: "*male in matrimonio vixit et multas alias malas consuetudines habuit.*"

⁵⁷ For his biographical details and for his works, see Kowalczyk, "Odnawienie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego," pp. 3–4, 23–42; and Wolny, "Uwagi nad kaznodziejstwem uniwersyteckim," pp. 31–36.

⁵⁸ BJ 2192, f. 31v: "*Insuper considerent hoc, quod multo faciliorem aggressum nunc habere possunt, quam beatus Stanislaus et tempora eius ad virtutes inserendas et vicia deprimenda, quoniam Omnipotens Deus, non nostra demerita inspiciens, sed gratiam suam in nos derivans, **elegit nobis in caput huius regni talem principem, qui sancto Stanislao astans, divina gracia suffragante,***

The discussion of martyrdom and conflict in many manuscript sermons is only a part of a more developed and complex discussion of either episcopal dignity or the excellent pastoral qualities of St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus. Above all, both were presented as exemplars of the good bishop, cleric and dignitary, who were to be admired and perceived as very practical models to follow in terms of religious life and politics. The *vitae* and sermons presented both bishop-saints as virtuous men, having administrative abilities, and leading a virtuous, chaste or even ascetic life at the same time. They were good shepherds who served their flocks well in life and in death. The image of good shepherd is one of the most important topics in the sermons on both St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus. Phyllis Roberts viewed this feature as evidence of the rooted conception of sanctity which came closer to real life for everyone, something achievable that could be followed here and now, a concept that emerged in the thirteenth century.⁵⁹

Roberts listed quite a number of homilies on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* (I am the good shepherd)⁶⁰ and the *thema Bonus pastor animam suam dat* (The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep)⁶¹ for St. Thomas' feast-day. Of the known sermons on St. Stanislaus, the ones on the *thema Ego sum pastor bonus* also represent a significant number. Moreover, these were not the only sermons discussing the topic of the good shepherd. The text from Hebrews *Talis decebat ut esset nobis pontifex* ("For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens")⁶² is also one of the most frequently occurring *themata* for the feast of St. Stanislaus and there are several similar Old Testament verses for St. Thomas' sermons.

The preachers often took the Johannine gospel pericope on the good shepherd as the opening verse of their sermons. It was not only suitable for the feasts of bishops, prelates, and clerics, but also for synods⁶³

dummodo sane instrueretur iuuaret quolibet, ut... ad Boleslaurum malicias reseandas." (emphasis mine) The sermon has also been edited by Kuš, "Justus sicut leo," pp. 9–22.

⁵⁹ Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction," pp. 8–9, 11–12; Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 340–52.

⁶⁰ John 10.11. Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, nos. 48–53.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, nos. 19–30.

⁶² Hebrews 7.26.

⁶³ Sermons dealing with the topic of the good shepherd beginning with the same verse were quite popular in the Middle Ages. They were not limited to the feast days of bishop saints. For the most famous of these, see for instance Saint Augustine's sermon *De verbis Evangelii Ioannis (10, 11–16)*, in PL 38 coll. 760; and the sermon of

and it was also read on the Second Easter Sunday. In the Kraków diocese synods took place on the feast days of St. Stanislaus, one of them being the feast of martyrdom on May 8, which usually fell into the Easter period. Preachers on Becket and Stanislaus often drew from traditional pastoral images that had been transmitted by the liturgy of their feasts.⁶⁴

Naturally, the comparison to Christ, the Good Shepherd *par excellence*, is omnipresent throughout the texts. Sometimes the preachers chose to speak of Christ and almost did not mention the saint beyond the rubric (like the sermon on St. Stanislaus in Ms. BJ 2364 preserved in several manuscripts).⁶⁵ Both saints were often described as feeding their flock with spiritual, material, and eternal bread, practices which contemporary pastors were to follow.⁶⁶

One can distinguish, however, types of sermons on the topic of the good shepherd in the two dossiers which depended on the circumstances of their preaching. The nature of the sermons reflected the particular audience. Some preachers focused on instructions concerning everyday pastoral care when speaking to parish priests or a lay audience.⁶⁷ In that connection the metaphor of wolves as bad people fits those who did not obey their spiritual shepherds, that is parish priests and confessors.

Conversely, sermons by many University educated preachers on both St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus⁶⁸ were meant for a more educated

Pope Innocent III, in PL 217 coll. 405–410. For a quite long index of these sermons from the later Middle Ages, far from complete, see Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*, v. 10 pp. 278–80. For the problem of the good shepherd in the age of Pope Innocent III, see also Graham-Leigh, “Hirelings and Shepherds:” and Powell, “Pastor Bonus,” pp. 522–37.

⁶⁴ Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, p. 27. See “Liturgical Offices for the Cult,” pp. 561–93; for example, the Magnificat antiphon *Pastor caesus in gregis medio*..., p. 566, and elsewhere; citing the Johannine gospel (John 10.11) and Gregory’s Homily on it in the *Lectio* 7, p. 574. Interestingly, the author of a sermon in the Ms. Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 450 cited several verses with pastoral imagery from the office for St. Stanislaus, very similar and probably dependent on Becket’s office: *Pastor cadit in gregis medio*.

⁶⁵ “In die sancti Adalberti vel Stanislai,” in BJ 2364, f. 276–280; BJ 1415, f. 198v–201; Kraków Chapter Library 157, f. 129–133.

⁶⁶ E.g. on St. Stanislaus in BJ 1626, f. 152v–153 and Kórnik 53 (no. 1), f. 123v, and on St. Thomas in Roberts’ inventory. Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, nos. 36, 52.

⁶⁷ Kórnik, 53, f. 122v–123v.

⁶⁸ University educated preachers on St. Stanislaus included Paul of Zator, Batholomew of Jasł, Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, John Cantius; on St. Thomas Stephen Langton and many others as well as sermons addressed to university audiences. See the list in Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, p. 251.

audiences in chapters, convents, universities or schools. In front of clerical or educated audiences, usually not before lay or uneducated listeners, preachers criticised contemporary prelates as well. Compared to legends, sermons are often more straightforward in applying the image of the ideal shepherd to their times. The criticism of clerics often sprang from the spreading reformist ideas of the *devotio moderna* movement, from a new religiosity coming from the pre-Hussite Bohemia and elsewhere, and a turn towards inner piety. Bartholomew of Jasł, also a university master, preached on the May feast of St. Stanislaus in Kraków cathedral in 1391. John Radlica, Bishop of Kraków, asked him to deliver a sermon in front of the gathering of diocesan clergy on that occasion. He sharply criticised clerical mistakes, the clerics' meanness, their behaviour at processions, and their lack of inner piety.⁶⁹ Bartholomew returned to the topic of the pastoral office and the qualities of good bishops and clerics in several speeches.

In those times, intellectual circles in Kraków strove together for restoration of the university (1390), which would bring forth moral renovation and education to the clergy and the whole society, and praised its utility. It was a concerted effort of Bishop John Radlica and his successor Peter Wysz (1392–1412) and the university masters Stanislaus of Skarbimiria and his contemporary, Bartholomew of Jasł, among others, and supported by King Vladislaus Jagiello. In this respect, it was a period when the Church, the royal court, and the intellectual elite united their efforts and St. Stanislaus was perceived as a common patron of their community. With regard to accent on unity, the situation was similar to the Langton age in England.⁷⁰ The renovated university was to produce more erudite clerics who would become good shepherds of their flocks. The call for morally and intellectually sound priests and bishops, as well as criticism of contemporary deficiencies, was palpable in sermons on St. Stanislaus, an ideal virtuous pastor like St. Thomas Becket. These exhortations were in accord with the bishops' reformist activities in the pastoral field in this period and with a turn to practical pastoral theology.⁷¹

⁶⁹ BJ 2192, f. 28r–32r. See also Kuś, "Justus sicut leo," esp. p. 8.

⁷⁰ See below, pp. 83–84.

⁷¹ For the reform activities of Bishop Peter Wysz and also for practical pastoral theology, see Markowski, *Dzieje Wydziału teologii*, pp. 80–94 especially and *passim*.

Hieronymus Albertus of Prague, or Jan Silvanus, compiled a *de sanctis* sermon collection *Exemplar salutis* by 1409.⁷² The Praemonstratensian who came from Prague was for some time a royal confessor, then prior at Nowy Sącz, and finished his life as a Camaldolese in Italy explained in the prologue that he was urged to put together a model collection for clerics and friars. The reformist monk chose the theme of good shepherd for St. Stanislaus' feast and discussed pastoral duties and virtues and the dignity of the spiritual pastors' office. Hieronymus also criticised contemporary clerics and urged them to follow Stanislaus' precious example of chastity.⁷³ Other authors developed similar themes in sermons on Thomas Becket. Preachers condemned and denounced those clergy who pillaged and robbed their flocks, comparing them to the beasts of the field.⁷⁴ One of the preachers complained that the prelates seemed to be more like princes than pastors.⁷⁵

In sermons on St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus meant for clerical or educated listeners or readers, preachers could deal with political-ecclesiastical issues, turning to political theory and theology or to topical matters. Some stayed within the general discussion, often only academic, while some dared to address particular problems. Some cited authorities like John of Salisbury (the *Policraticus*), the Decretals, and Aristotle. The author of another sermon on St. Stanislaus emphasised the dignity of episcopal and priestly offices and their supremacy over all seculars, quoting and paraphrasing Ambrose and Augustine.⁷⁶

Theoretical debates on power were typical of this kind of sermon. Stephen Langton, like many other late medieval preachers, presented an ideal picture of secular power and its relation to its spiritual counterpart, and not just when speaking about the Becket conflict.⁷⁷ The texts on St. Stanislaus offered discussions and explanations in the same spirit.

⁷² For biographical details see Zathey, "Hieronym Jan Silvanus," pp. 507–509. For the collection *Exemplar salutis* see Brückner, "Kazania średniowieczne," pp. 355–59.

⁷³ Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 50, f. 315r: "*Sunt hodie nonnulli viri ecclesiastici sacerdotes vel clerici et specialiter ecclesiarum parochialium rectores immundi concubinatores, lusores, tabernatores...*"

⁷⁴ Roberts, "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction," p. 9, referring to a University of Paris sermon from 1281–3.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 9, referring to a Paris sermon from 1301–2.

⁷⁶ Budapest University Library, Cod. Lat. 75, f. 449v: "*Nam ut dicit Ambrosius quod honor et dignitas episcopalis et sacerdotalis nullis rebus secularibus potest comparari. Nam videmus quod reges et principes inclinant colla sua coram sacerdotibus et flectunt genua et osculantur manus eorum. Et ideo nihil excellentius in hoc mundo sacerdotibus.*"

⁷⁷ See Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*, pp. 124–128 (130).

Those descriptions appear in model collections designed for audiences at schools and universities, supported by a repertory of references to widely known relevant authorities.

The collections by Paul of Zator, including his two sermons on St. Stanislaus on the *thema* *Ego sum pastor bonus*, were read and copied at cathedral and parish schools in Poland in the fifteenth century.⁷⁸ Paul of Zator was a doctor of canon law, the first holder of the office of permanent cathedral preacher in Kraków (1454–63) and in the circle of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Kraków.⁷⁹ His widespread collection of sermons contained moral and legal expositions on the community and the roles of spiritual and temporal powers. In his sermon on Stanislaus, Paul of Zator maintained that not only clerics, but also the king and all dignitaries and officials should be good shepherds.⁸⁰ Ideally, clerics and seculars were obliged to take care of their subjects jointly so that they could live in justice and peace and reach salvation eventually. They were obliged to spare no means for the well being of their people and the *res publica*. Typically, the arguments were supported by examples from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Importantly, pastors were obliged to protect their subjects from mercenaries and wolves—heretics at the time when the Hussite movement was spreading from Bohemia to Polish lands. In another sermon on St. Stanislaus, Paul of Zator reminded the audience that secular power had a duty to help the spiritual with its sword when needed.⁸¹

Similarly, Jan of Słupcza, the author of the sermon in a manuscript from the Jagiellonian Library considered kings, princes, lords and fathers of families as shepherds.⁸² Secular pastors were to be responsible for the security and protection of their sheep from the wolves.⁸³ Again, he

⁷⁸ For the practice of copying of his sermons at schools according to manuscript notes, see Wolny, "Krakowskie środowisko katedralne," p. 102. See also Wolny, "Kaznodziejstwo," pp. 287–88.

⁷⁹ For biographical details of Paul of Zator, see Wolny, "Paweł z Zatora," pp. 401–403.

⁸⁰ BJ 491, f. 195: "*Christus enim... declaravit se sacerdotem, regem et ministrum. Dicitur ergo sacerdos esse bonus pastor; rex bonus pastor; dignitarius bonus pastor et quibus [...] est officialis, anime sue dicitur esse bonus pastor.*"

⁸¹ *Ibidem*: "*Dedit Deus seculari potestati gladium quasi pastori baculum adiutorii ad pauperum et ecclesiarum tutoriens.*"

⁸² BJ 2364, f. 278v: "*Et ideo non solum constituit sacerdotes et pontifices in pastores, sed etiam reges et duces et dominos, et patres familias...*" etc.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, f. 278v: "*Nam oves non solum indigent bonis pascuis, que sacerdotes debent procurare, sed etiam indigent securitate et repulsione luporum, que reges, duces et domini debent efficere.*"

wrote that “any shepherd, secular as well as spiritual” should sacrifice himself for his subjects and correct them.⁸⁴ Paul of Zator criticised magnates and noblemen who governed their subjects wrongly and even dared to contradict God or act against His Church.⁸⁵ As all the model discussions claimed, reluctance of both spiritual and secular pastors to fulfill their duties resulted in the corruption of kingdoms and communities.⁸⁶

Thus, the sermons on Becket and Stanislaus frequently offered an idealised image of secular power. In many cases, there is no criticism of kings and secular rulers. Rather, the preachers presented the ideal to be achieved. Emphasis on the prestige of spiritual power over the temporal was always present. For example, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, struggled with King John for years and tried to achieve the freedom of the English Church from royal interference. Like his predecessor Becket, he had to spend years in French exile. His self-identification with St. Thomas was a natural and logical implication. When Langton orchestrated the translation ceremony on July 7, 1220, the recently crowned king Henry III, the papal legate, the archbishop of Rheims, an unnamed Hungarian archbishop, and seventeen other bishops were present.⁸⁷ On the occasion and also in Rome on December 29, 1220, and on its first anniversary in 1221 Langton preached a sermon on St. Thomas of Canterbury, glorifying the English martyr.⁸⁸ The details of Becket’s persecution and death were “notably muted or absent” and there were few references to Langton’s difficulties with the king.⁸⁹ For him, the ceremony of 1220, in the presence of the king, the papal legate, and almost all the English episcopate, meant the reconciliation between conflicting parties in the

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 279r: “*quilibet bonus pastor ita secularis sicut spiritualis animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis*,” etc.

⁸⁵ BJ 491, f. 197–199.

⁸⁶ A summary of the reflections of Polish intellectuals on power, sovereignty and on the significance of intellectuals in the country provided by Ożóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej*, pp. 74–146.

⁸⁷ For the policy of Archbishop Stephen Langton and his initiative for St. Thomas’ translation, see also Eales, “The Political Setting,” pp. 127–39.

⁸⁸ The sermon in question appears in Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition* under no. 124. The text is perhaps an amalgam of two stages of Langton’s preaching on the translation in 1220 and 1221. Another of Langton’s sermons from Rome is under no. 162. For an analysis of Langton’s preaching on Becket, see Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, pp. 21–24, 35–37.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 22.

kingdom and the restoration of peace and order. Langton tried to universalise the cult of Thomas Becket, “by emphasising that it ultimately transcended issues of royal-clerical relations, however important.”⁹⁰ R. Eales further maintained that, “Becket’s posthumous fame could stand not just for resistance to royal tyranny but also for reconciliation with rightful royal power.” At that time the Becket cult and Langton’s sermon were not anti-royal. On the contrary, St. Thomas symbolised an overarching unity of the community and a growing sense of pride in the Englishness of English saints, who were thought to be active in healing the ills of the kingdom.⁹¹

Some sermons on St. Stanislaus could also be understood in this context. A number of sermons point out his Polish origin and his special intercession for the Poles or Kraków,⁹² which was also important for the ideology of restoration of the Polish Kingdom in the thirteenth century.⁹³ Notably, the preacher Bartholomew of Jasł praised King Vladislaus Jagiello while he denounced Boleslaus II, Stanislaus’ adversary.⁹⁴ During the reign of Vladislaus and Jadwiga of Anjou, other preachers like Stanislaus of Skarbimierza also did not promote the anti-royal aspects of Stanislaus’ cult, but rather presented the ideal of relations of secular and spiritual powers. Neither the cults nor the sermon dossiers were necessarily anti-royal, although they had the potential to be used against royal power in some circumstances. There were periods in both cults when the sermons accentuated other aspects, such as for example patriotism and the saints’ universality.

Generally speaking, it appears that there was no direct connection between the sermons on St. Thomas and St. Stanislaus, although some sermons on Becket also appeared in Polish lands together with his cult. Still, preachers interpreted the lives and message of St. Stanislaus and St. Thomas to medieval audiences in similar ways to a certain extent. They were presented as exemplars of personal piety and good shepherds, martyrs who died for the sake of the Church and the faithful,

⁹⁰ Eales, “The Political Setting,” p. 127.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 138–39. Several sermons on Becket, mostly by English preachers, that emphasize his Englishness, include for example Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition*, no. 26: “*fuit gloria Anglorum*,” etc.

⁹² For example, they addressed the saint as “*noster gloriosus patronus*” or “*patronus huius regni dignissimus*” or in a similar way.

⁹³ For a recent overview of this issue see Mrozowicz, “Die politische Rolle des Kultes”; and Pauk, “Kult św. Stanisława,” pp. 31–47.

⁹⁴ See the citation above, note 58.

as prelates who clashed with their kings. Most importantly, the preachers dealt with the issues of pastoral excellence and the dignity of the bishop's office in the face of secular power, and the saints' intercession for the community. Both saints were martyr-bishops—no surprise that there were some analogies between the preaching on the two saints. The sermons on the two discussed similar topics, even used common sources, authorities, and imagery with similar social and political significance. The analogies between the two homiletic dossiers and between the ideas they emphasised demonstrate the exchange and parallels between religious, political and social spheres in England and Poland.

THE PAPACY AND THE NATIONS OF SCOTLAND AND POLAND, C. 1250–1334

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The later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are widely recognised as a period that witnessed the culmination of the conflict between ideas about national sovereignty and the concept of universal authority. The story of assertive kings and their talented spokesmen, most famously perhaps those of Philip the Fair of France, defying claims to universal authority, is well known, as is the seemingly uncomfortable position of the papacy, constrained in its attempts to counter such claims by the need to be politically pragmatic, and by having set the precedent of supporting these new powers in the thirteenth century as allies against the Empire.¹ Heralded by the pontificate of Philip the Fair's antagonist, Boniface VIII, the Avignon papacy in particular has been portrayed as unable to defend its authority in the face of an increasingly sophisticated barrage of thinkers employed to counteract the claims of papal monarchy.² In some ways, however, the cases of Scotland and Poland provide a contrast to this familiar picture. Like most secular powers within Christendom in this period, these two kingdoms witnessed developments which have come to be understood in the modern era as constituting "state-building," evincing a developing sense of national identity and regnal solidarity. More particularly, they also offer interesting parallels in terms of the circumstances that shaped, if not prompted, these developments, not least of which was the involvement of the papacy in these processes. Their domestic political circumstances, as well as their situation within Christendom and with regard to their territorial neighbours, were comparable in many respects, and led them to present their concerns and ideas about their nationhood and sovereignty to an audience whose outlook has often been seen as at odds with such trends. Moreover, in various ways, the Holy See proved responsive to the agendas of the men involved in pursuing them.

¹ Guenée, *States and Rulers*, p. 7

² For example, Renouard, *The Avignon papacy*, pp. 128, 132–33; Muldoon, "Boniface VIII's Forty Years," pp. 449–77; Gaudemet, "Le rôle de la papauté," pp. 79–106.

Scotland and Poland were far from immune from the developments that historians have come to recognise throughout Christendom as associated with an increasingly articulated sense of nationhood.³ Chronicles and polemical works, and in particular the tradition of origin myths to be found in narrative sources produced in both kingdoms, betray a strong sense of nation and of regnal solidarity. The portrayal of a people of one stock who could be identified by their laws and customs, to whom could be ascribed particular virtues, who inhabited a clearly delineated territory under the rule of a legitimate, unbroken line of rulers, is, as in other European kingdoms, a notable feature of their narrative traditions.⁴ In both kingdoms, the cults of national saints acted as foci for sentiments of national unity.⁵ In Poland, a common sense of boundaries and history of the old kingdom, beyond the consciousness of a few learned elites,⁶ was aided by the borders of the Piast territories

³ Indeed, Richard Hoffman has argued that both kingdoms, along with others polities located on the periphery of Christendom, evinced a keener sense of ethnicity than elsewhere in Europe. Hoffmann, "Outsiders by Birth and Blood," p. 23. For a discussion of this thesis with more particular reference to Poland, Strzelczyk, "Die Wahrnehmung des Fremden," pp. 204–205. See also Symmons-Symonolewicz, "National consciousness in Poland," pp. 249–66; Grant, "Aspects of National Consciousness," pp. 68–95.

⁴ "Chronica principum Poloniae," in *MPH*, III, pp. 423–578; "Miersuae Chronicon," in *MPH*, III, pp. 163–69; "Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum polonorum," in *MPH*, New series, II; also see, for example, *MPV*, III, no. 121; Banaszekiewicz, "Slavonic *origines regni*," pp. 97–131. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, pp. 194–208, 304–307. The Scottish origin myth was adopted (and adapted) for political purposes at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, to counteract claims to English overlordship, most famously perhaps in what has come to be known as the 'Declaration of Arbroath' of 1320, though it drew heavily from a much older chronicle tradition. See Hoffmann, "Outsiders by Birth and Blood," p. 9, and Matthews, "The Egyptians in Scotland," pp. 289–306. However as Grant Simpson observes of the letter, "Its main importance lies in 1320, and it cannot serve as a secure prop for a mythical 'tradition.'" Simpson, "The Declaration of Arbroath Revitalised," p. 31.

⁵ The Declaration of Arbroath of 1320 described the man who had been commissioned by Christ to confirm the Scots in their faith, "namely the most gentle Andrew, the blessed Peter's brother, whom he wished to protect them as their patron for ever." *The Nation of the Scots*, p. 35. See also Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, pp. 183–93. In Poland, of course, Vincent of Kielce famously employed the tale of St. Stanislaus's martyrdom, and the growing together of his various dismembered body parts, as a metaphor for a future reunified kingdom: *MPH*, IV, pp. 238–85, 319–438; Skibiński, "Identity and Difference," p. 103. For the significance of St. Stanislaus's canonisation in 1253 see Symmons-Symonolewicz, "National Consciousness in Poland," p. 256; "Annales Poloniae Maioris," in *MPH nova series*, VI, p. 34. See also Stanka Kuzmová in this volume.

⁶ There is evidence for the breadth of this consciousness throughout the testimonies given against the Teutonic Order in 1320: Długosz, *Lites ac res gestae*; also, for example, *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, no. 95; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, p. 41

being understood as coterminous with the archdiocese of Gniezno.⁷ During the thirteenth century, a solidifying sense of regnal boundaries began to manifest itself in disputed claims both in the secular church and religious orders. Political boundaries were expected to equate with provincial ones, and national tensions came to feature more prominently in disputes concerning the provision of benefices.⁸

The development of such sentiments and ideas was in part a response to the external threats posed to the integrity of both kingdoms. For centuries, Scotland had faced claims to overlordship from the kings of England. Attempts to gain recognition of Scottish independence, and to attain the juridical status of a kingdom, were as old as the English claims to overlordship.⁹ The dispute was essentially a diplomatic wrangle until Scotland became kingless after the death in 1290 of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, Alexander III's only surviving descendant.¹⁰ Edward I's intervention as overlord in the ensuing succession dispute ensured that the successful litigant, John Balliol, swore fealty to him. Balliol's rebellion and abdication in 1296 again left Scotland without a king until Robert Bruce, a rival of the Balliol faction, seized the crown in 1306 under the banner of Scottish independence from English overlordship. Nevertheless Scotland continued to face claims which the English crown attempted to effect both militarily and diplomatically. Similarly, the supporters of a reunified Poland under the leadership of Vladislaus Łokietek were confronted with territorial ambitions from both their non-Catholic and pagan neighbours—the Ruthenians, Tartars and Lithuanians—as well as from their Catholic ones. The latter included not only the Margraves of Brandenburg, and, from the early fourteenth century the formidable Teutonic Knights, but also the kings of Bohemia, who at the end of the thirteenth century effected their claim to the Polish crown. It was in part a response to such threats that ideas about people of common stock, laws and custom, ruled by legitimate

⁷ See, for example, *MPV*, I, no. 53; in the *Annales capituli Gneznensis, ad annum 1243*, the archbishop of Gniezno is described as “the archbishop of Poland”: *MPH, nova series*, VI, p. 6.

⁸ Bliss, *Calendar of entries in the papal registers*, I, p. 497; Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, I, part 2, p. 707; *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, p. 318; Freed, “The Friars and the Delineation,” pp. 31–40, 425–28; Buczek, “Archbishop Jakub Świnka,” pp. 54–65.

⁹ For this the privileges of crowning and unction were sought from the pope. See, for example, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no. 9, 29.

¹⁰ Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, pp. 593–615; Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community*, pp. 3–4; Reid, “The Kingless Kingdom,” pp. 105–29.

rulers were employed, in order to justify their entitlement to liberty, and freedom from the oppression of foreign powers.¹¹

Internally, Poland shared the experience of Scotland's "kinglessness." Poland lacked a crowned ruler until Przemysł II received coronation in 1295 as part of his attempt to re-unite the disparate parts of the kingdom,¹² which had until then been ruled for more than a century by various members of the Piast dynasty as a series of duchies.¹³ Nevertheless, the concept of the *regnum Poloniae* had remained intact, thanks in part to its association with the boundaries of the archdiocese of Gniezno, and the resilience of the Piasts as the recognised *domini naturales* of the land. In the absence of effective rulers within both kingdoms, sentiments of unity, nationhood, and independence were sustained and promoted by their leading prelates and nobles.¹⁴ It was after Alexander III's death, and then John Balliol's short and ill-fated reign, that in Scotland such men acted not only as guardians of the crown but also in the name of the community of the realm, associated with the notion of an independent Scottish nation.¹⁵ Similarly, among the clerical and lay gentry in Poland, there existed a degree of loyalty to the idea of the kingdom, which was

¹¹ Inspired by Sallust, the author of the Declaration of Arbroath maintained that "we will never on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English. For we fight not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life." Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots*, p. 36; Philip, "Sallust and the Declaration of Arbroath," pp. 75–78. The notion of the "ancient liberty of Poland," particularly its freedom from subservience to the Empire, threads through the chronicle tradition of the region, having made its first appearance in the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*. Introduction to *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, III, lv–lvi; "Cronica Principum Polonie," *MPH*, III, p. 430. There is no suggestion here that these ideas reflected united opinion. In reality, the question of political allegiance and identity in both kingdoms was naturally much more complex than proponents of their rulers would have liked anyone to believe. Indeed, their efforts can be seen as response to that reality. Clerical and baronial support for the two rulers and their causes was far from unanimous in either kingdom.

¹² He was crowned by Archbishop Świnka in Gniezno in 1295, but boasting only the lands of Greater Poland and Pomorze. "Annales Poloniae Maioris," 53; "Annales Calisiae," in *MPH* New series, VI, p. 147; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, p. 20.

¹³ The death of Conrad of Mazovia in 1247 heralded an even greater degree of Polish disintegration, involving the subdivisions of the major provinces. Boswell, "Territorial Division," p. 93.

¹⁴ There is no desire to overstate this, however, particularly the role of the nobility. In neither case were such efforts united, and dissension from both causes by both clerics and, more particularly perhaps, nobles, was common. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Their seal famously featured St. Andrew. For an introduction to this period of Scottish history Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, pp. 593–615.

fuelled by external threats, and operated despite any dynastic rivalries that may have beset the Piasts.¹⁶ Scotland could boast several important prelates whose loyalty to the realisation of Scottish independence was unrivalled, and who proved adept at articulating the notion of an independent Scottish kingdom. The names of William Lamberton and Robert Wishart have acquired fame for this reason.¹⁷ Just as Scotland had its Wishart and its Lamberton, so Poland had its Jakub Świnka,¹⁸ its Jan Janisław and its Gerward, bishop of Włocławek. The association of the old Piast lands with the archbishopric of Gniezno ensured that it was churchmen, particularly the metropolitans, who were the most vocal and articulate proponents of the sentiments and ideas that their rulers later came to depend on.¹⁹

Indeed, it was on the commitment of such men, and the ideas promoted by them, that both Robert Bruce and Vladislaus Łokietek depended. They were the rulers who have become most closely associated with the realisation of Scottish independence and Polish reunification respectively. In both cases, their rule was contested, by the Balliol faction in Scotland, and by John of Bohemia's claims to the Polish crown.²⁰ Both rulers were thus at pains not only to emphasise their hereditary rights,²¹ but also openly to ascribe their authority to popular

¹⁶ The existence of clan groups among the Polish gentry played an important role in the retention of Polish unity which transcended ducal divisions. Boswell, "Territorial Division," p. 106; Smith, "Crusade and Society," p. 79.

¹⁷ Barrow, "The Scottish Clergy," pp. 1–22.

¹⁸ Indeed, in his brief study of Świnka's involvement in the unification movement, Daniel Buczek has suggested that he ought to be likened to patriotic churchmen of the West in this period, particularly in view of his synodal activities. Buczek, "Archbishop Jakub Świnka."

¹⁹ G. W. S. Barrow discusses the importance of the "*ecclesia Scoticana*" in the development of notions of national liberty in Scotland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in his "The idea of freedom in medieval Scotland," pp. 18–32.

²⁰ Young, *Robert The Bruce's Rivals*, pp. 184–214. Factional divisions within the ruling elite of Scotland under Bruce were also evinced during the Soules conspiracy in 1320, the same year in which the Declaration was composed. See Cowan, "*For Freedom Alone*," pp. 77–80. For the claims made by John of Bohemia to the Polish crown, see *Vetere Monumenta Poloniae*, I, no. 226.

²¹ In 1319, for instance, Bruce rejected Edward II's proposal for peace, informing the king's envoys that "he did not much care for the king of England's peace; the kingdom of Scotland was his and pertained to him both by hereditary right and by right of battle; he said that he was strengthened by these titles and he neither ought to nor would acknowledge any superior or earthly lord." Quoted in Duncan, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, V, p. 147. Łokietek was commonly described in diplomatic records, though not generally in chronicles, as the direct successor to Przemysł. This is notable in the testimonies given on behalf of the king during the process of 1320 against the

support, support conferred on them by their regnal communities. An example of this comes in a reply of 1319 to the letter delivered to the pope by bishop Gerward in which Łokietek's coronation as king of a "reunified" Poland is supposedly petitioned for by the clerics, nobles, city dwellers and "all others of the kingdom of Poland."²² The so-called Declaration of Arbroath, a letter composed to the pope in 1320 in support of Bruce, and the most famous and lucid justification of Scottish independence extant from the period, declared that Bruce was appointed by, and held entirely accountable to, the community of the realm.²³

From the thirteenth century the papacy proved to be at least tacitly responsive to some of these developments, in that its administration often complemented the agendas of Scottish independence and Polish reunification. The province of Poland, understood as it was by the papacy to be coterminous with the archdiocese of Gniezno,²⁴ continued to serve as an administrative unit for papal taxation throughout the territorial divisions and dynastic disputes raging in the kingdom during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²⁵ Thus, in 1325, the Vienne tenth, for instance, was being collected by nuncios sent "*ad partes regni Polonie*."²⁶ But perhaps the most significant form of taxation in this respect was Peter's Pence. That tax came to be understood as a symbol of Polish unity and independence,²⁷ and for which the entirety of the

Teutonic Order. Długosz, *Lites ac res*, pp. 27, 31, 34, 40, 43, 45, 48; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, pp. 21–22.

²² Reply dated September 1319: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 226. The tradition of election is emphasised in, for example, "Poczet Królów Polskich," in *MPH*, III.

²³ "Yet if he [Bruce] should give up what he has begun, seeking to make us or our kingdom subject to the king of England or to the English, we would strive at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and we would make some other man who was able to defend us our king." Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots*, p. 36.

²⁴ *MPV*, I, no. 53.

²⁵ In 1287, for example, Ada, canon of Kraków, was assigned to collect the Holy Land tenth in Poland and Hungary, as well as in other provinces. *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 182.

²⁶ The dioceses included in this commission were Gniezno, Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, Włocławek, Płock, Lubiąż, Kamień and Chełmno. *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 322.

²⁷ Pierre David observes that it "was to become the sacred link between the scattered duchies, and later between the motherland and the provinces which were to pass under the foreign yoke." David, "The Church in Poland," pp. 76–77. The strength of its association with the old kingdom, despite political disintegration, was perhaps made evident in 1323 when Henry, "*dux Slezie, heres regni Polonie*," assured Pope John XXII that he understood his obligation to pay the tax: Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, no. 251,

old *regnum Polonie* was understood to be liable, both within Poland and in the papal Camera,²⁸ Poland supposedly having been donated to the Holy See by Duke Mieszko I in the late tenth century.²⁹ When ordering his collectors to threaten the dioceses of Chełmno and Kamień with ecclesiastical censures for non-payment in 1325, the pope did so because he *understood* that “each and every inhabitant of the cities and dioceses of Kamień, Chełmno and Lubiąż, is known to be within the limits of the kingdom.”³⁰ The payment of this tax as a focus for anti-German grievances is well-known. In the later thirteenth century, Polish clergy began to declare that, despite their enjoyment of numerous taxation privileges, German settlers were nevertheless obliged to contribute to Peter’s Pence, since it was a contribution paid by *all* the inhabitants of Poland.³¹ In its determination to keep its coffers full, the papacy came down on the side of a unified Polish kingdom.

The political importance of such aspects of papal administration to the inhabitants of these kingdoms was already apparent by the mid-thirteenth century, and the papacy itself was capable of showing sympathy in the matter. In 1257, Pope Alexander IV agreed to a request made by “all the clergy of Poland,” that papal legates would not be sent to the province of Poland as well as to Germany and other provinces without *specifically* mentioning Poland in the commission. Alternatively, legates were just to be sent specifically to Poland and no other “province.”³² The commissioning of papal legates and raising of taxation proved equally sensitive subjects for the Scots. As part of a set of privileges that accompanied the bull *Cum universi* issued in 1192, by which the

p. 71; *MPV*, I, no. 84; Maydorn, “Der Peterspfennig in Schlesien,” pp. 54–55. See, also, for example, the letter by which the Duke of Silesia recognised “ourselves to be immediately subject to your most sacred paternity and to the apostolic see” through the payment of Peter’s Pence, which he did on the assumption that “if by chance any emperor or king of the Romans should wish to extend his jurisdiction over us *de facto*, we would be defended from his violence and injuries by the protection of the holy see.” Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, no. 251; *MPV*, I, no. 84.

²⁸ For example, “Cronica Petri Comitis Poloniae Accedunt Carminis Mauri Fragmenta,” in *MPH nova series*, III, p. 2; *MPV*, I, no. 53.

²⁹ It was certainly recorded as such as marginalia in the *Liber Censuum* of 1192. David, “The Church in Poland,” p. 76. In 1325, for instance, it was described as “*nobis et eidem ecclesie in regno Polonie debitum*.” *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 320.

³⁰ *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 328. In fact, the diocese of Chełmno had been established under the auspices of the Teutonic Knights, and was never subject to the metropolitan authority of Gniezno. Boswell, “Territorial Division,” p. 96.

³¹ Symmons-Symonolewicz, “National Consciousness in Poland,” p. 257.

³² *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 138. This then constituted consistent papal practice. See for example the papal letter dated 1286 in *ibidem*, no. 180.

pope bestowed the status of a “special daughter” on the Scottish church without subjection to any intermediary, no legate, unless sent *a latere*, that is directly from the pope, was to exercise office in the kingdom of Scotland unless he was himself “of the kingdom of Scotland.”³³ The importance of these privileges to those wishing to assert independence from English overlordship underpinned Alexander II’s request in 1248 to have them re-affirmed.³⁴ Similarly, there was a general understanding that the collection of papal subsidies in Scotland was to be administered separately from that in England. When the English king requested the collection of the Holy Land tenth for his crusades, this was only granted “with permission of the Scottish king.”³⁵

It was to the protection of the Holy See that both kingdoms appealed at around the beginning of the fourteenth century, when faced with the very real military, rather than merely diplomatic, threats of their neighbours. In doing so, much was made of the “special status” that was enjoyed by each kingdom in relation to the Holy See. As already noted, the payment of Peter’s Pence throughout the Piast lands was a tradition around which a sense of Polish unity was preserved and fostered, and the promoters of reunification explored its political implications to the full. In 1249 the bishop of Poznań had maintained that the reunification of the kingdom would be realised by the pope within the next quarter century.³⁶ When reunification did begin to be effected, it was universally understood that papal sanction was a pre-requisite for the coronation of a Polish ruler not simply because such sanction was still sought for the legitimisation of new rulers throughout Christendom in this period, but more specifically because of the special relationship existing by reason of the payment of Peter’s Pence.³⁷ So it was that in May, 1323, Łokietek happily styled himself king “by the grace of God and the Holy Sec.”³⁸

³³ Fergusson, *Medieval papal representatives*, pp. 1–2.

³⁴ *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, no. 131. These privileges, however, were not always observed by subsequent popes. See for example *ibidem*, no. 245.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 249. Indeed, the separate appointment of legates and the administration of papal taxation were two points on which Baldred Bisset rested the assertion that the kingdom of Scotland was entirely independent of the English crown when arguing his case at the Curia in 1301. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, VI, pp. 149, 163.

³⁶ David, “The Church in Poland,” p. 84.

³⁷ *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 226; “Petra Žitavského Kronika Zbraslavská,” in J. Emler, ed., *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum...*, vol. 4, 256.

³⁸ *MPV*, I, no. 83.

It was in similar terms that the Scots made recourse to the Curia at the end of the thirteenth century in response to English ambitions in Scotland. Since the later twelfth century the Scottish church had enjoyed the status of a "special daughter" of the See of St. Peter, a status which undercut the metropolitan claims of York, and, with them, a means through which English overlordship might be claimed. This was not a grant to the kingdom, or in fact to all the dioceses within the recognised boundaries of the kingdom, since Whitehorn remained a suffragan of York. Nevertheless, this special status resonated with the arguments used by Scottish polemicists at the Curia from the turn of the fourteenth century in their attempts to counteract claims to English overlordship. It was put to Pope Boniface VIII that the kingdom of Scotland was subject to none but the see of St. Peter. Boniface obliged these Scottish claims in his bull *Scimus, fili* of 1299, in which he maintained that "the realm of Scotland belonged rightfully, and is known still to belong in the full legal sense, to the Roman church."³⁹

Nevertheless, the relationship between Bruce's polemicists and the notion of papal protection was an uneasy one. In one sense the relationship, certainly in the terms that Boniface VIII chose to define it, could be deemed as directly contradicting the idea of Scottish sovereignty and independence in that it substituted the acknowledgement of one overlordship for another.⁴⁰ Moreover, relations between the papacy and Bruce were difficult in themselves, Clement V choosing to sympathise with English complaints of Scottish aggression, and John XXII initially following the example of his predecessor. Indeed, John at first viewed the Scots as rebellious subjects of the English king,⁴¹ and, in turn, the Scots proved more than adept at mustering weapons with which the pope's authority to intervene in the affair might be refuted. Indeed, they adopted tactics that had previously been exercised by both French and English spokesmen to rebut claims of papal monarchy.⁴² In 1317, Bruce famously refused to receive nuncios in view of their failure to style him as king in their letters, ascribing his refusal to the counsel

³⁹ *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no. 28; and see also Bower, *Scotichronicon*, VI, pp. 149, 168–69.

⁴⁰ Linehan, "A fourteenth-century history of Anglo-Scottish relations," pp. 108–109.

⁴¹ Menache, "The Failure of John XXII's Policy," pp. 423–37; Bliss, *Calendar of entries in the papal registers*, II, pp. 433–34; *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, no. 412; Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, II, part 1, pp. 327–28, 364.

⁴² Simpson, "The Declaration of Arbroath Revitalised," pp. 11–33.

of his nobles. Again in 1320, it was to these men that his authority as ruler was ascribed in a letter to the pope and in the Declaration of Arbroath, an espousal of political rule inherently at odds with the claims of universal temporal authority and, as such, the pope's right to intervene in the dispute.⁴³ It was alongside this notion that the pope was urged to maintain his integrity as Christ's Vicar by abandoning the favouritism that he had until then allegedly shown. Indeed, the stance of Bruce's supporters may be seen even as one of occasional spiritual independence from Rome. This was at least suggested perhaps in the occasional use of the analogy of holy war when describing their opposition to English overlordship.⁴⁴ To use such terms in reference to war against fellow Christian rulers was, by the fourteenth century, almost standard diplomatic practice. Indeed, it was a practice that had been developed in conjunction with papal political interests. Its use by the proponents of Scottish independence, certainly during the years prior to 1320, though, was without reference to papal authority. Such practice, that is the adoption of crusading rhetoric without direct papal sanction and even, on occasion, with the aim of criticising papal policy itself, may be seen as part of a growing tendency in the fourteenth century associated with the decline in the papacy's spiritual integrity and political leverage.⁴⁵

The notion of papal protection enjoyed by the Scottish church was, however, never entirely abandoned, and continued to be adopted as a method by which to approach the papacy when it might serve a purpose.⁴⁶ Indeed, just as the notion was never entirely abandoned, neither were the Scots' attempts to gain papal support and protection. Contradictory as it might seem to the modern commentator on fourteenth-century notions of sovereignty, Bruce's supporters were rather more flexible in their outlook. In 1328–9 Scottish envoys were sent to the Curia to obtain the long sought-after privileges of crowning and

⁴³ *Ibidem*, 29. It is perhaps in view of this that Barrow has described the letter as a "practical counterpart" to Marsiglio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* of 1324. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community*, p. xix.

⁴⁴ David Murray, Bishop of Moray, for example, is reputed to have likened fighting the English to fighting the Saracens.

⁴⁵ Weiler, "The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae*," pp. 1–36; Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots*, p. 36; Menache, *The Vox Dei*, p. 179.

⁴⁶ A "special relationship" of some sort with the Holy See was hinted at in the Declaration of Arbroath, in that St. Peter's brother, Andrew, is described as having been responsible for bringing Christianity to Scotland. See note 5 above.

unction for Bruce and his successors. It is thought that the possibility of paying Peter's Pence was raised in the negotiations,⁴⁷ which would suggest that in fact the Scots had few qualms about acknowledging papal overlordship in order to obtain these privileges.⁴⁸

Whether or not these kingdoms were consistent in their recognition of papal overlordship, and temporal authority *within* their kingdoms, they continued to appeal to the pontiff in his role as arbiter as protection against the claims of their neighbours. It was to the pope, as the interpreter of the universal law, that these kingdoms made their appeals. It was according to canon law that Łokietek asked to be given redress for the Teutonic Knights' seizure of Gdańsk-Pomorze, by which the integrity of a unified Polish kingdom had, in the eyes of its promoters, been compromised.⁴⁹ It was as a kingdom of equal status to that of its English neighbour that the spokesmen of Scotland and, eventually, Bruce, asked to be recognised. At the turn of the century, the case for Scottish independence put to the Curia by Baldred Bisset had appealed to the "common law," according to which no kingdom could be subjected to another. The argument, founded on the maxim "*par in parem non habet imperium*," had been developed by canon lawyers in the previous two centuries.⁵⁰ It was in this legal framework that ideas about nationhood and sovereignty developed. In particular, spokesmen from both kingdoms adopted a discourse relating to crusading and just war as part of their attempts to define their status within Christendom.

It was through the rhetoric of holy war that the representatives of both rulers tried to promote their nations as worthy, committed to the

⁴⁷ Crawford, "Peter's Pence in Scotland," p. 16. As Crawford argues, it seems unlikely that any payment of the tax was ever delivered to the papal camera.

⁴⁸ Indeed, there has been a tendency among modern historians to overlook the pragmatism of Bruce's polemicists in a way that may be described as almost teleological. In focusing on assertions of Scottish sovereignty, most particularly those made in the Declaration of Arbroath, any recognition of papal temporal authority is perceived as a setback in the progression of Scottish political thinking. It surely needs to be recognised that Bruce's primary concern was the refutation of English overlordship, and denial of the pope's temporal authority was only resorted to when recognition of it would have otherwise threatened this agenda.

⁴⁹ Długosz, *Lites ac res*, pp. 20–21: "*Quare petimus nomine quo supra condicione ex canone Reintegranda eundem magistrum et commendatores de Gdancz...*"

⁵⁰ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, pp. 141, 264–65. It is interesting to note also that the record kept by Scottish notaries of the negotiations for the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1327, by which all claims to English overlordship were renounced, was in Latin, rather than French, and submitted to papal authority. By contrast, there was no such submission contained in the English record of the negotiations. Duncan, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, no. 345.

welfare of Christendom, but acting as national units. The Scots used the language of crusading to contrast their own worthiness as a nation with that of the English. In the Declaration of Arbroath it was professed that, "He from whom nothing is hidden well knows how cheerfully we and our lord the king would go [to the Holy Land]...if the king of the English would leave us in peace."⁵¹ Again in 1324, the earl of Moray, sent to the Curia to urge the pope to revoke the sentence of excommunication against Robert Bruce, used the proposal of crusading as a bargaining counter. That this was phrased very much in terms of a proposed Scottish enterprise, engineered to demonstrate their merit, is evident in the pope's reply in which he maintained that the subjects of the kingdom of Scotland—"Scotiae regnicolae"—were unworthy of such favours.⁵²

Polish envoys were similarly eager to present the Polish kingdom as a crusading nation through its role in defending the eastern frontier of Christendom.⁵³ The defence of the kingdom and the defence of Christendom were presented as analogous. In writing to the pope the Polish people are presented as one in continual conflict with their pagan and schismatic neighbours. When soliciting the crown for Łokietek, Bishop Gerward informed the pope of repeated incursions from the Tartars, Lithuanians and Ruthenians, that were suffered by "the Polish people."⁵⁴ John XXII's eventual reply to Łokietek's request for a crusading grant early in the 1320s offered indulgences for all faithful Christians within Poland who defended the Roman Catholic faith either through war, or by defending the kingdom.⁵⁵

In both cases the adoption of this rhetoric may be seen as a direct response to the crusading reputations of their overbearing neighbours: England could boast a reputation with which the Scots could hardly compete, while the Teutonic Order, which not only had crusading as its professed *raison d'être*, but which came to liken its role in the region with

⁵¹ Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots*, p. 36. The instructions compiled for Bisset's pleading in 1301 provide an earlier example of Scottish assertions of a crusading heritage: "...the Saxons and their English successors, utterly hostile as they were to the Scots, as the unconverted usually are to the converted. Sometimes the Roman Church has like the Assyrians used [the Scots] to tame rebellious neighbouring nations in other areas, and will perhaps in the course of time still need to use their help as it has needed to [in the past]." Bower, *Scotichronicon*, VI, p. 149, cf. 155.

⁵² *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, no. 480.

⁵³ Knoll, "Poland as *antemurale christianitatis*," pp. 381–401.

⁵⁴ *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 226.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 316.

the Maccabean people, provided a foil for Polish crusading enthusiasm.⁵⁶ Consequently, in appealing to the pontiff, they employed comparable language to describe their enemies. The Declaration presents the English king as consumed by greed to rule more than his fair share of land, and pursuing his ambition initially through surreptitious means, posing as an “ally to invade them as an enemy.”⁵⁷ He was prepared to kill innocent Christian people to this end, predictably “irrespective of their age, sex, religion or order,” even at a time when “the frontiers of Christendom [were] being pressed inward day by day” and his military efforts would be better spent elsewhere, if he were a good Christian king.⁵⁸ Of course such duplicity and greed formed the crux of Polish complaints against the Teutonic Order, which had seized Gdańsk after entering the region under the pretence of aiding Łokietek’s supporters there.⁵⁹ In the testimonies against the Order given to the papal judges-delegate in 1320–1, the Knights’ occupation is described as involving the inhumane shedding of Christian blood, with victims being dragged from the altar to meet their deaths.⁶⁰ In his testimony, Bishop Gerward also chose to remind the judges that such acts were taking place while Łokietek was away in remoter parts fighting “schismatics.”⁶¹

Discussing the ways in which the spokesmen of these kingdoms attuned their agendas to the papal ear inevitably begs the question of how far the papacy was inclined to respond to them, both in terms of their specific requests and the ideas employed in support of the requests, that is, more general concepts of nationhood, independence and reunification. Intellectually, this was potentially a very opportune time in which to be putting such arguments to the pontiff. Developments in canonistic thinking during the previous century, by which peoples, whether Christian or otherwise, were deemed to exercise their political authority legitimately, served to broaden the papal outlook in a way that resonated with the arguments put to it by smaller secular powers such as Scotland and Poland facing the threat of “oppression” by more

⁵⁶ Though of course, the Polish crusading tradition long preceded Łokietek’s dispute with the Teutonic Order.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, p. 177.

⁵⁸ Duncan, *The Nation of the Scots*, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁹ It is a common theme of the witnesses’ testimonies in 1320. Długosz, *Lites ac res*, p. 43.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 25, 31, 34, 36, 38, 43, 45.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

powerful Christian neighbours.⁶² In its support of the more powerful monarchies of the West, the papacy had also been instrumental in establishing and promoting a discourse which, in the thirteenth century, was used to consolidate the “nation-making” process within these kingdoms. This discourse was that of crusading, but phrased in national terms,⁶³ and it was one that “weaker” states, such as Scotland and Poland, came to draw on in this period in their attempts to achieve the legitimisation of their independent, unified status, and of their newly-appointed rulers.

Of course intellectual trends, particularly when not universally accepted,⁶⁴ could not guarantee a sympathetic response from the papacy, bound up as it inevitably was in the political realities of Christendom. The papacy’s fiscal and administrative concerns might, and often did, accord with the notions of independence, reunification and national unity, but this may be primarily understood as a coincidence of interests. National unity could reasonably be seen as conducive to efficient tax collection. Indeed, particularly under the pontificate of John XXII, fiscal considerations were paramount in shaping the pope’s responses to the spokesmen of these kingdoms. In 1328, as already noted, financial bartering featured prominently in the negotiations leading to Bruce’s absolution and the grant of crowning and unction. Moreover, in Poland such concerns may in fact be seen as having compromised the ideal of Polish reunification in that the pope proved willing to negotiate with Silesian dukes about the payment of Peter’s Pence without reference to a reunified Poland, or the legitimacy of Łokietek’s rule within the old kingdom.⁶⁵

John XXII in particular has been seen as somewhat ineffectual in responding to the arguments put to him by the supporters of Bruce and

⁶² For this see works by James Muldoon: “*Extra ecclesiam non est imperium*,” pp. 553–80; *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*; “The remonstrance of the Irish princes,” pp. 309–25. Also, see Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 197–207 and Belch, *Paulus Vladimiri*, I, p. 76.

⁶³ Menache, *Vox Dei*, pp. 175–90.

⁶⁴ The teachings of Innocent IV on the political rights of infidels, for example, were far from universally accepted.

⁶⁵ Maydorn, “Der Peterspfennig in Schlesien,” pp. 54–55; Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, II, no. 251. Although, of course, the premise on which these negotiations was based was that the lands of the Silesian dukes were liable for the payment due to their situation within the old “*regnum Poloniae*.”

Łokietek.⁶⁶ He has usually been understood as a fairly stout advocate of English overlordship in Scotland.⁶⁷ Certainly, he was slow to absolve Bruce for his breach of the papally-negotiated truce in 1318, and continually reluctant, according to his correspondence at least, to offend the sensibilities of the English crown directly by granting absolution. Particularly during the 1320s and during his struggle with Ludwig of Bavaria, he was obliged to tread a careful path and to avoid making enemies of the more powerful rulers of Christendom. Of course such considerations influenced his outward response to the Polish petitioning for Łokietek's coronation. No formal sanction of the ceremony was granted, in view of the rival claim put forward by John of Bohemia, a figure whom the pope could not then afford to alienate.⁶⁸ The pope was also slow to respond to the request for crusading indulgences made by Łokietek in the early 1320s.⁶⁹

And yet John XXII was far from entirely dismissive of the ideas put to him by the two spokesmen. At worst he was simply evasive. His need to maintain alliances with the more powerful monarchies of Christendom did not prevent him from at least tacitly recognising the claims of the lesser ones, even if their interests were opposed to those of the greater powers. Such a policy was effected through a relatively hands-off approach to the petitions laid before him.⁷⁰ Despite condemning Bruce for his breaking of the peace, he never in fact made a direct pronouncement on the issue of English overlordship. Certainly after 1320, the language used in papal correspondence suggests that the papacy was prepared to recognise Scotland as an independent kingdom, and this was certainly borne out in its handling of episcopal appointments there.⁷¹ Despite his reluctance to ignore the claims of John of Bohemia, the pope was, at least initially, more than willing to provide assistance to Łokietek and his proponents in declaring the

⁶⁶ His response to the Declaration of Arbroath, for example, has been described by Barrow as "a remarkable feat of evasion." Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community*, p. 426.

⁶⁷ Menache, "The Failure of John XXII's Policy," pp. 423–37.

⁶⁸ *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, no. 226; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, p. 38.

⁶⁹ It took him several years in fact. For the indulgences, see *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae*, nos. 316, 334, 338.

⁷⁰ See, for example, his response to the petitions put to him by John Stratford on behalf of Edward II in 1323: Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, II, part 1, p. 542.

⁷¹ Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community*, p. 373; and see, for example, Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, II, part 1, p. 374. Notably, in contrast to the practice of the English chancery, John never referred to Scotland as a "land," but always as a "kingdom."

encroachments of the Teutonic Order in Gdańsk-Pomorze to be unlawful.⁷² John was, after all, a renowned canon lawyer himself and was at least intellectually equipped to engage with the arguments put to him and to show sympathy when politics permitted.⁷³

The Curia therefore continued to be an important forum for the assertion and development of ideas about nationhood and sovereignty. Notions about the innate liberty and freedom of peoples, and their right to be governed independently by their own appointed rulers, were aired and developed in the form of a discourse that appealed to the pontiff's role as universal arbiter. It was in this capacity that the papacy continued to be involved in the nation-making processes of these kingdoms during the fourteenth century. While acknowledgement of the pope's direct temporal authority over these lands, particularly Scotland, might occasionally be dispensed with, in general his role as protector of their independence in relation to their neighbours remained in tact. The language of just war and crusading appealed to an understanding of a Christendom composed of a series of sovereign nations, ordained by God, who required regulation by an impartial, universal authority. It was an understanding with which John XXII at least appears to have had sympathy. While papal policies might frequently conflict with the sensibilities and political agendas of these increasingly assertive nations, the papacy itself remained a crucial component in shaping understandings and the discourse of nationhood and sovereignty in these two border kingdoms.

⁷² John famously appointed partial judges-delegate to oversee the process, although he later quashed the ruling which favoured Łokietek under pressure from the Order. Michaud, "The Kingdoms of Central Europe," p. 747.

⁷³ See, for example, his very interesting response to Edward III's proposed expedition to Ireland in 1331, in which he suggests that, to deal with the reformation of Ireland, "some impartial person or persons should be sent; and as there are in that country two sorts of people, pure Irish, and those of a mixed race, care should be taken to have governors and officers of the same respectively." Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, II, p. 500.

HOLY FRONTIERSMEN? TWELFTH- AND EARLY
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MONASTIC COLONISATION
AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE IN POLAND
AND SCOTLAND

Richard D. Oram

Within the broad framework of medieval ‘frontier’ studies, the role of the Church as an agency for socio-economic, political and cultural change across Europe, and especially in what have for long been regarded as the continent’s peripheries, has formed a central strand in analyses of social development and cultural homogenisation.¹ At a fundamental level, the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Church was one of the chief media for such homogenisation. There were moves towards uniformity in both the Latin rite and legal practice across western Christendom, coupled with aggressive assertion of papal authority and the attendant development of an ecclesiastical bureaucracy that used common forms and styles. There was the internationalising of the monastic orders and their desire for internal conformity which resulted in the establishment of a series of standards common to Latin Europe. As the principal literate institution in medieval European society, the Church was also the chief generator of written records, both for itself and on behalf of others. Consequently, through the relative abundance of Church-produced documents, it has acquired in the eyes of historians a status as a driving-force for fundamental socio-economic and cultural change, particularly where ecclesiastical corporations became possessed of extensive landed estates and economic and jurisdictional rights, many of which were located in areas perceived as ‘frontier’. That view of the Church, especially of the monastic orders, as pioneers in landscape transformation, environmental change and socio-cultural re-ordering has, since the 1980s, been subjected to critical reassessment. The result of this analysis has been identification of a probably strongly propagandistic dimension within the monastic records, with the promotion of an ideal of monks toiling in the wilderness to make

¹ A masterly example of such analysis is offered in Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*.

paradise on Earth functioning as a homily rather than statement of a reality.² Revision of the traditional view of pioneering monasticism, especially Cistercian, began in the early 1980s, particularly in respect of developments in France. This initial focus on the cultural heartland of the reformed orders has explored the “invention” of the pioneer imagery amongst other deeply entrenched tropes and revealed heterodoxy or flexibility in practice in approaches to revenue generation and land management.³ This reappraisal, however, has only been applied piecemeal elsewhere in Latin Europe, but comparative consideration of the cultural, economic and environmental policies and impacts of monastic colonisation in southern Poland and southern Scotland suggest that similar assessments would yield equally striking results.

From the beginning of the twelfth century, reformed Benedictine and Augustinian monasticism began to be imported for the first time from predominantly Frankish western Europe into two ‘peripheral’ areas of apparently different socio-economic and cultural tradition: Scotland and Poland. Scotland had a Christian tradition dating from the fifth century and Poland’s conversion had begun in the later tenth century. Although the religious colonisation of both lands had been initiated and supported by native rulers and leaders of the secular Church, both territories were considered by members of the incoming ecclesiastical elite to be spiritually, morally and culturally inferior in comparison to their own supposedly ‘mainstream’ western European Christian culture. In both regions, consequently, the reformed monastic orders have traditionally been represented as lying at the forefront of a process of cultural transformation, pioneers whose technological superiority carried the frontiers of Frankish European culture far to the North and East. Recently, that traditional view has been challenged as largely representing propaganda and self-promotion on the part of the monastic colonists,⁴ and coloured by deeply-ingrained notions of cultural and racial superiority. But the image of the monastic pioneer toiling to

² Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 153–55; Oram, “Prayer, property and profit,” pp. 87–94.

³ Much outstanding work in this context has been produced by Constance Berman. See, for example, *The Cistercian Evolution*, which analyses the extensive myth-making that surrounds the origins and early development of the order and its rule. Her earlier *Medieval Agriculture*, overturned traditional perceptions of the nature of Cistercian property portfolios, agriculture and estate management.

⁴ See, for example, Górecki, *Economy, Society and Lordship*, p. 8 n. 32, and the extensive literature cited there.

make an unproductive, unsophisticated, barbarian-infested wilderness blossom remains one of the most powerful icons of 'Europeanisation' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Assessment of the role played by monastic colonies in the socio-economic development of the territories into which they were planted is significantly further advanced in respect of Poland, where the recent work of Piotr Górecki has been seminal in this respect.⁵ This stands in contrast to Scotland, where research into the medieval economy and society has only begun to advance again after three decades of stagnation and where study of the monasteries has been piecemeal and focused primarily on their architectural histories.⁶ The primary materials available to support such research, however, are broadly similar in nature in both areas, although Scotland is markedly better served in terms of volume of surviving twelfth- and earlier thirteenth-century documentation than Poland, while the Polish material contains substantially more data with respect to processes of colonial settlement, personnel and the subject-matter of grants made to the colonists. Availability and quality of sources, therefore, cannot be used to excuse the failure to engage with the issues. What have been critical in indirectly obstructing research, however, are the national historiographies of both countries, which have been moulded by the political and associated socio-economic experiences of Scotland and Poland from the eighteenth century to the present. As a substratum within that historiography, moreover, there lies a later medieval construction of national identities which sought to impose a synthetic shell of simplex uniformity over what was a complicated melange of diversity in form and practice.

Górecki's work has highlighted the rich diversity that is hidden beneath the comfort-blanket of catch-all Polish-Slavic culture even during the brief unity of the early Piast monarchy. He has issued a corrective to the corrosive effects of the traditional presentation of injections of German culture as the lubricant or stimulus for 'modernising' socio-economic change in a 'primitive' or, more euphemistically,

⁵ Górecki, *Economy, Society and Lordship*; Górecki, "Parishes, Tithes and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland."

⁶ For recent developments in Scottish social and economic history of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, see Ross, "The Province of Moray"; Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland*, especially chapters 3 and 5. For recent studies of monastic estates in Scotland, see Stringer, "Reform monasticism and Celtic Scotland"; Fawcett and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*; Fawcett and Oram, *Dryburgh Abbey*; Oram, "Prayer, property and profit."

'culturally conservative' society. In Scotland, there has been similar recourse to 'one-size-fits-all' labels: for Slavic read Celtic and for German read English. Here, the picture is of 'Celtic' conservatism fighting a long, rearguard and ultimately fruitless defence of traditional cultural practices in the face of a Quisling, 'Anglo-Normanised', 'feudalising', 'modernising' monarchy. A *nationalist* historiography which has wrestled uncomfortably with reconciling the artificial political unity of the Scottish state within its post-1266 or 1469 limits and the manifold variety in socio-economic practice evident throughout the medieval period and beyond, resorted to crude divisions into 'Celtic Scotland' north of the River Forth and west of the central Southern Uplands watershed, and 'non-Celtic' in the south-east. Such blunt generalisations entirely fail to acknowledge, let alone explain, the enormous differences in practice evident between 'Celtic' areas such as Fife, Angus and the north-east mainland, and Western Ross, Argyll or Galloway. And, as Górecki again cautions, divergence and change cannot be explained through reductionist arguments alone, which over-simplify categories of change in terms of early or late, primitive or sophisticated, and simple or complex: 'every medieval European society was complex'.⁷

Starting from that premise, it can be seen that re-evaluation is necessary of the level of socio-economic development and the nature of the underlying social structures into which the monastic colonies were implanted. A tendency in research down to the early 1980s to over-generalise the position, usually in Scottish historiography to overstate and in Polish to understate the level of socio-economic sophistication in the early twelfth century,⁸ has served to obscure widely varying levels and forms of development, imposing an artificial uniformity over what were highly fragmented social and political structures. In the case of Scotland, the medieval kingdom embraced the former territories of at least four distinct earlier units and parts of at least two others, and contained elements from at least five main linguistic and cultural groups. In Scotland, moreover, this artificial uniformity is manifest in an historiographical tradition which has focused on the development of a 'feudal' kingdom by innovative monarchs who were believed to have imported, mainly from England, the legal apparatus and lordship

⁷ Górecki, *Economy, Society and Lordship*, p. 9.

⁸ For Scotland see, for example, Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, chapters 3, 11 and 12, representing work published originally in 1973, 1962 and 1956 respectively.

practices of an alien cultural tradition and grafted them onto established native socio-economic and political systems. There seem to be clear parallels in this tradition with that view of Poland in which German social, economic, cultural and political influences evident from the later tenth century onwards were considered to have been imported primarily by native powers who aspired to enhance their foreign and domestic prestige and assert their personal authority more extensively. Such simplistic models for state-building masked the underlying complexity of the indigenous social, economic, political and cultural communities behind a monocausal veneer of monarchically-led change. In the present context, recognition of that underlying complexity is critical for reassessment of the role of the monastic orders in the formation of the later medieval societies and politics of Poland and Scotland. The de-emphasising, for example, of the traditional presentation of the Cistercians as socio-economic innovators and engineers proactive in the physical and mental restructuring of the cultures and landscapes into which they were planted, has fostered in its place better understanding of the complex interactions between the monks and the surrounding economies and societies. Robert Fossier and others have suggested that the Cistercians' success was premised perhaps not so much on innovative genius as upon recognition of current trends and the developmental potential in the existing social and economic order.⁹ It may not be that such a response was distinctly Cistercian, since two other orders—the Tironensian monks and the Premonstratensian canons—may have followed a similar course in respect of their estates. The implications of this finding for the wider understanding of monastic estate-management and the development of the rural economy more generally, however, are far-reaching, given the traditional historiographical differentiation between the policies of the various orders and the emphasis on their leadership in agricultural innovation and landscape change.

Whether or not Górecki's basic thesis of a multi-layered and complex socio-economic structure operating in Poland before *c.* 1100 is accepted, and there are some significant questions about certain of his interpretations, his work has nevertheless laid bare a situation where economic exchange mechanisms and social structures that western European historians traditionally have labelled as indicative of 'early' or 'late'

⁹ Fossier, "L'Economie cistercienne dans les plaines du nord-ouest de l'Europe," pp. 53–74 and other contributors' essays in that volume.



Map 1: Monasteries in Poland

stages of development operated together in at least some parts of the emergent kingdom.¹⁰ At the Cluniac abbey of Tyniec, for example, a charter of *c.* 1125 confirming a number of grants made to the monks between *c.* 1050 and *c.* 1125 contains elements supposedly characteristic of an economy based primarily on the hoarding of bullion-based wealth, perhaps coin. This wealth was dispersed both through gift, *i.e.* an 'early' system, and through the use of coin in the market in profit-driven activity, *i.e.* 'late,' which suggests that the two forms were operating concurrently rather than sequentially.¹¹ Tyniec, however, lies close to Kraków, one of the principal political and economic centres of the emergent Polish kingdom and already an established nexus of long-distance trade and local commerce before the end of the tenth century. It was no surprise to see such juxtaposed developmental features in the vicinity of these socio-economic nodes, and, given the caveat with respect to traditional views of twelfth-century Cistercian economic practice. Equally it is no surprise to find non-Cistercian monasteries as largely passive beneficiaries of locally endogenous development rather than proactive economic developers. It is principally the backwards projection of the Cistercian pioneer myth into the tenth and eleventh centuries that has given rise to the notion of the monastic orders generally as experimental innovators rather than participants in a wider, more organic process of socio-economic and cultural change.

In broad terms, the Tyniec example is paralleled in the provision made for three Scottish foundations made between *c.* 1070 and 1128: Dunfermline, the first Benedictine monastery founded in Scotland; Tironensian Selkirk, the first reformed Benedictine monastery in Britain, and Holyrood, an Augustinian community.¹² As at Tyniec, these three monasteries in Scotland were provided with a range of resources from which they could satisfy their needs. These resources were mainly landed property or rights attendant on lordship of land, or indirect routes like grants of cash sources with which they could purchase what could not be obtained from the landed portion of their estates, primarily in the form of money rents from town properties or shares of the income

¹⁰ Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship*, chapter 1, and especially the critique of the DUBY model at pp. 61–62.

¹¹ *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, pp. 516–20. For discussion of the document, see Górecki, *Economy, Society and Lordship*, pp. 18, 46.

¹² *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, nos 1, 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32; *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, nos 1, 2; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, nos 1–11.

from milling dues. Here, again, there is apparent evidence for 'early' and 'late' aspects of socio-economic systems operating concurrently. Although some of that cash was to be obtained from sources as far remote from the monasteries as the East Midlands of England,¹³ the grants assume the existence of mechanisms to allow either for the transfer of the coin to the abbey, or the equivalent shipment to the abbey of the commodities purchased remotely with the cash. Quittance from payment of tolls on their own goods likewise assumes that commodities were being moved over distances and that systems were in place by at least the early 1100s for their monitoring and taxing. As also with Tyniec in respect of Kraków, all three of these Scottish monasteries were founded in close proximity to established trade and political centres within the south-eastern region of the emergent kingdom, such as Berwick-upon-Tweed, Roxburgh and Edinburgh.¹⁴ Within this nexus, the monasteries may have acted as stimuli for more regular long-distance and local commercial traffic, and perhaps for growth in specialist sectors which could not be met from local resources, like the wine trade, but they were being accommodated into a pre-existing system rather than constructing *de novo* mechanisms as part of an imported cultural package. The subsequent development of their estates, moreover, was integral to, rather than in advance of, the wider socio-economic development of this south-eastern region.

Away from the principal centres of Polish ducal or royal power and the heartland of Scottish royal authority the picture is less clear-cut. As with most reactions against long-established historiographical traditions, the reassessment of the Cistercian pioneering image started by Fossier and his fellows in France has perhaps become something of a bandwagon onto which historians of twelfth-century northern Europe¹⁵ have leapt without first closely reviewing the evidence, seeking to replicate Fossier's alternative model proposed for Cistercian estate development in respect of their own countries. In Poland, evaluation of the endowment of Cistercian abbeys appears, *prima facie*, to support the revision. The abbey of Lubiąż, founded in 1175 in south-east Silesia

¹³ *The Charters of David I*, nos 14, 70; *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, nos 1, 241; *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, p. 277.

¹⁴ Dunfermline lies just north of the Forth in Fife but within an area of key royal interests in the late eleventh century and linked closely to the socio-economic and political communities south of the river in Lothian.

¹⁵ That includes me. See, for example, Oram, "Prayer, property and profit."

by Duke Boleslaus I (1163–1201) and Bishop Zyrosław of Wrocław, and its daughter-house of Henryków, founded c. 1222–8 by Duke Henry, for example, benefited from initial endowments very similar in form to that developed by 1125 at Tyniec.¹⁶ The composition of their initial endowments does not correspond with the traditional image of Cistercian primary estates as principally undeveloped land ready to be broken into cultivation. Henryków's own presentation of its origins presents a contradictory record, where on the one hand the place in which the monastery was founded was described as a depopulated and undeveloped waste, "then wild enough and overwhelmed by many trees" (*tunc satis horridum et multis nemoribus obsitum*), which the monks brought into cultivation with their own labour, but elsewhere in the record the pre-existence there of a settled Polish farming population is revealed.¹⁷ As Robert Bartlett has said, "the monks progressively obliterated the memory of these earlier settlers in favour of a founding myth of pioneers in an empty land."¹⁸ Underlying this myth-making there appears to have been a desire to preserve at least a semblance of adherence to the founding principles of Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux. However the conflict between a principle embedded in the central philosophies of the Cistercian rule of self-sufficiency founded on the physical labour of the monks, and a reality where the rents and renders of tenants and the profits of trade, as with Henryków's properties at Budzów where income from the mill and tavern were conveyed to the abbey along with the village and its territory, seems irreconcilable.¹⁹ It is such rent- and trade-based portions of the abbey's portfolios which has attracted the most interest recently,²⁰ not least because of their breach of the original prohibitions placed on acceptance of such income in the Cistercian rule, but principally because they appear to show the Cistercians in Poland slotting into an existing socio-economic pattern. Concentration on this segment of the monastic property portfolio, however, perhaps overstates the divergence between ideal and reality

¹⁶ For Lubiąż, see *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, no. 45. For Henryków, see *Księga Henrykowska*.

¹⁷ *Księga Henrykowska*, pp. 241, 251–53, 265, 309.

¹⁸ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 154.

¹⁹ *Księga Henrykowska*, pp. 285–98. See also the grants made to Henryków in Wadochowice of the inn, the third penny from justice, the butcher and the baker, amongst other landed and fiscal rights, *ibidem*, p. 335, and similar awards at Czesławice, *ibidem*, p. 368.

²⁰ Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship*, pp. 47–48.

and downplays the significance of the monasteries' role as property developers.

Alongside the money-based component of Henryków's estate was a substantial landed endowment comprising both gifts of already developed property and also speculative awards of land to be settled and broken into cultivation from woodland. The Henryków chronicle contains several accounts of property acquisitions which give a sense of the varying levels of exploitative development within Silesia in the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries. At Brukalice, for example, Boguchwał the Bohemian was given "four oxen" of land by Duke Boleslaus I. This land could have been worked with a small plough drawn by four oxen, but it was "in a wooded neighbourhood and deserted by cultivators," so Boguchwał had "usurped to himself" out of the woodland in the vicinity as much land as could be worked by "three great ploughs," far exceeding what the duke had either intended or awarded.²¹ There was, it seems, cultivable land for the illicit taking, but others received formal grants of wooded land for clearance and agricultural development. At Kołaczów, clearance of woodland had also been undertaken by the time the monks acquired the land in the mid-thirteenth century, with three villages and their territories replacing what had been an area covered by "much woodland and timber."²² In both cases, Henryków was gaining possession of property where clearance had already been started through the labour of others, but where further expansion of agriculture into the still afforested areas was envisaged. The implication made by the Henryków chronicler, however, seems to be that the pre-monastic assarts represented poor-quality exploitation undertaken using primitive techniques, and that it was only with the intervention of the monks and their large-scale re-ordering of the landscape that any worthwhile or significant development occurred. The chronicle also points to the low level of technological development in this region of expanding agriculture in eastern Silesia, commenting on the rarity of water-powered mills and the prevalence of hand-driven querns for grinding flour in the period down to the arrival of the monks and the other settlers whom they subsequently imported.²³ This style of presentation suggests that a contrast of cultures was intended in which the

²¹ *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 299.

²² *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 254.

²³ *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 299. See also Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship*, pp. 108–111.

technological, moral and spiritual superiority of the incomers over the natives could be stressed. While its expression may not be as strident and overt as the often-quoted fourteenth-century Lubiąż poem which contrasts the pre-Cistercian 'before' with the very different 'after' in Poland, the essential perception of superiority *v.* inferiority was already established by the beginning of the thirteenth century.²⁴ Such a contrast permitted the Cistercians to maintain their self-image as pioneers in the wilderness, for their labours were bringing a land and people trapped in the benighted wasteland of barbaric ignorance into an earthly paradise of advanced culture, technology and moral rectitude.

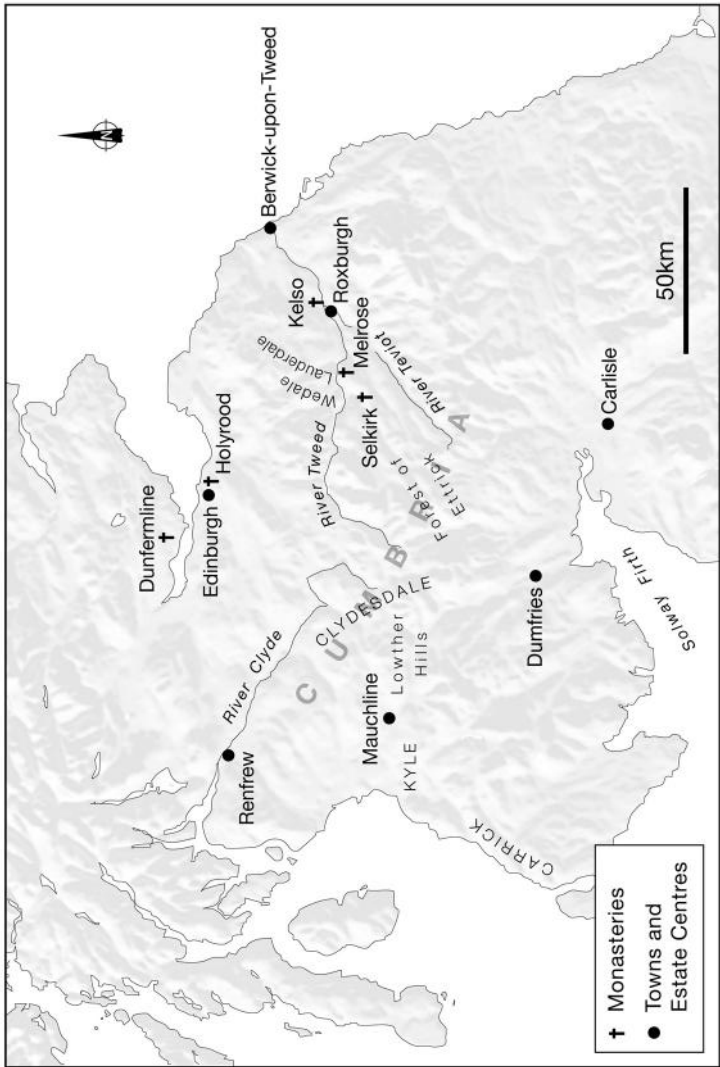
Speculative development of previously uncultivated land was foreseen in the grants. In 1221 at Schönwalde or Budzów, Duke Henry of Silesia gave a peasant speculator called Meinold six *mansi* of land free of all rent and payment of tithe, with the expectation that fifty or more *mansi* would be taken out of the surrounding woods, presumably by other peasants attracted to settle there. How much clearance and settlement had been undertaken by *c.* 1227 when the land apparently passed into the possession of Henryków is unclear, but here as elsewhere on its estates the abbey wished to continue the process of development of intensive agricultural regimes.²⁵ Some of the land secured for such speculative development by the abbey was destined for future exploitation by tenant settlers, mainly from Germany,²⁶ but the monks also developed blocks of property as granges, or exclusive monastic farms given over to specialist agriculture. Brukalice, for example, located less than 3 km from the main abbey complex at Henryków, where there had been pre-thirteenth-century peasant clearance and an established Polish farming community, was functioning as a monastic grange by the mid-thirteenth century.²⁷ Granges have been interpreted primarily as a response by the monks designed to establish large blocks of primarily arable land in exclusive ownership, where they could practice their own forms of specialist agriculture unencumbered by the limitations imposed by the less sophisticated farming methods of peasant tenants. In Poland and in Scotland granges in some cases may have functioned in a quite different manner. On the Lubiąż estate, the development of some granges, Górecki suggests, was designed to construct a network

²⁴ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 154.

²⁵ *Księga Henrykowska*, pp. 285–87.

²⁶ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 153.

²⁷ *Księga Henrykowska*, p. 380.



Map 2: Monasteries in Scotland

extending from southern Silesia to the Baltic coast, which perhaps demonstrates the monks' efforts to integrate themselves within existing patterns of long-distance trade in particular commodities rather than to secure exclusive control over resource exploitation.²⁸ That, however, begs the question of the level of development of such long-distance trade and the nature of the monastic exploitation regime which produced the surpluses upon which such trade was based. In short, while the abbeys may have been receiving some gifts of land where the exploitative regime was determined by the peasant communities already established upon it, elsewhere the monks may have been freer to consciously develop the economic structure of their own estates independently of the wider local or regional systems.

Such a variable approach to estate development appears to have occurred also in the cases of the Scottish abbeys founded by King David I, such as Tironensian Selkirk, later shifted to Kelso, founded in 1113, or Cistercian Melrose, founded in 1136.²⁹ For over a decade before he became king in 1124, David ruled an extensive and effectively autonomous appanage in southern upland Scotland, referred to as Cumbria.³⁰ Traditionally, this principality has been viewed as a training-ground where David was able to experiment with the methods of government, reformed religious structures and innovative socio-economic systems that he would introduce to Scotland generally after his accession. Here he settled the first of his English knights, introduced a reformed-minded Picard cleric as bishop, established privileged commercial market centres (burghs), and founded his first monastery, Selkirk.³¹ The established view of David's appanage is that it constituted the economically most developed portion of the late-eleventh-century Scottish kingdom. However, this image is based largely on backward projection of the circumstances of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the eastern portion of the territory, centred on David's fortress and burghs at Roxburgh and Berwick, was the political and commercial heartland of the kingdom, thickly-planted with secular lordships, burghs and monasteries. In fact, a re-examination of the early twelfth-century records reveals an altogether different situation.

²⁸ Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship*, p. 57.

²⁹ *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, nos. 1–3; *Liber S. Marie de Melros*.

³⁰ Oram, *David I*, chapter 4.

³¹ Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 59.

David's Cumbria was more of a geographical notion than a socio-economic or political entity. It was made up of a series of distinct blocks of widely varying levels of economic exploitation and cultural sophistication, similar in this respect to south-eastern Silesia, southern Małopolska, or parts of Pomerania or Mazuria. Its easternmost territories in the lower Tweed valley had, until the late eleventh century, been part of the former Anglian kingdom of Northumbria and had a long-established tradition of arable agriculture based on nucleated communities within a framework of lordly estates. Lower Clydesdale in the West also held a concentration of early estates associated with the former Brittonic kingdom occasionally referred to as 'Strathclyde'. Much of the rest of Cumbria, however, lacks evidence for an established pattern of pre-twelfth-century lordships and most of those which emerged in the course of the mid-twelfth century have the appearance of *de novo* creations, much larger in territorial extent than those of the Tweed valley and seemingly based on topographically-defined units.³² Throughout most of this territory, much of which was heavily wooded with small areas of cultivation in the lowlands and extensive grazing in the uplands, there are no recognisable pre-twelfth-century market centres, no significant religious centres, and no recognisable seats of royal or lordly authority. In socio-economic terms, and in complete contrast to the Roxburgh-Berwick area, the bulk of David's appanage was a zone of non-intensive settlement and limited socio-economic development, displaying in its social organisation many characteristics of what are referred to as 'rank' or 'peasant-based' societies,³³ displayed for example in the communal actions of the apparently socially leaderless 'men of Wedale' in defence of their grazing rights against monastic encroachment.³⁴ An over-riding royal authority was still recognised in these areas, and David and his predecessors had extracted certain kinds of tribute, like the food-render known as *cáin* or occasional military service, but the kings' power was remote and only intermittently effective.³⁵

The first recorded component of David's new socio-economic order established on the outer edge of the less developed zone of his principal-

³² See, Oram, *Domination and Lordship* and compare with Barrow, "Patterns of Lordship and Feudal Settlement," pp. 117–37.

³³ See, for example, Wickham, "Problems of Comparing Rural Societies," pp. 221–46.

³⁴ *Chronicle of Melrose*, s.a. 1184.

³⁵ For grants of *cáin* from this district, see *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, no. 1. For military service, see Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway*, pp. 37–38.

ity was not a secular lordship but a monastery, the Tironensian abbey at Selkirk. Its initial endowment, made soon after 1113, comprised the same mix of income sources as was evident at Tyniec and later at Lubiąż, such as lordship over pre-existing peasant agricultural communities, for example at Midlem, Bowden and Eildon, urban properties in Berwick and Roxburgh, money rents, shares in mills and fishing-stations, and portions of tributes in kind due to the king from his estates. But David also gave it extensive rights in undeveloped properties in the wooded region to the west, bordering the central Southern Uplands district referred to as the Forest of Ettrick.³⁶ The Forest was a marchland in the truest sense of that term, occupying what archaeological surveys suggest were the sparsely populated uplands that separate the catchments of the Tweed-Teviot river-system on the east, and the Clyde and the rivers feeding into the head of the Solway Firth to the west, and forming a buffer zone between the former kingdoms of Strathclyde and Northumbria. Royal regulation of economic exploitation of this district ensured that there was little by way of permanent settlement in the heart of the region until the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and throughout most of the Middle Ages it had been a royal hunting reserve within which the peasant communities dwelling on its margins had enjoyed traditional but regulated rights to grazing, timber and other natural resources. Selkirk made little headway in the settlement and exploitation of its land on the Forest's eastern edge by the 1120s, and when in 1128 the community was moved to Kelso, 20 km to the east of Selkirk, 'which place was not convenient for the abbey', the monks opted subsequently to expand their interests in other directions, mainly into the arable lowland region known as the Merse and the upland grazing land which bordered it to the north.³⁷

By the time that Melrose was founded in 1136, only 5 km downriver from Selkirk, the position in the Forest's margins had changed substantially, with significant assarts already being made by peasant cultivators under the direction of lay lords in neighbouring districts, such as Wedale and Lauderdale to the north and north-east.³⁸ It was into a landscape of recent and expanding clearance that the new abbey was set. Melrose's

³⁶ *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 2.

³⁸ Fawcett and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp. 213–21. For specific earlier twelfth-century assarts in this district, see *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, nos 109–114, 249; *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos 1, 3, 9.

foundation charter has not survived, but a confirmation issued to it in *c.* 1147 by King David indicates that its initial endowment had been significantly different from that assembled for Selkirk/Kelso in that it had comprised primarily blocks of real property supplemented by fishing rights in the river adjacent to the monastery and access to the king's forests for building-timber, fuel, pasture and pannage.³⁹ Its character is more what would perhaps be expected of a community adhering to basic Cistercian principles. That would surely be expected given the early date of the abbey's foundation and its place in the Clairvaux filiation over which Abbot Bernard still presided. No income from rents, mills, markets or other commercial activities was included, but the illusion is shattered by the fact that the bulk of the core endowment comprised three already existing economic units within the royal demesne. In addition to this core of already developed property with an existing peasant tenantry, the monks were granted rights to undertake clearance on the margins of the king's forest between Wedale and Lauderdale, directly across the River Tweed from the precinct. This woodland clearance was primarily for arable cultivation, and the lay-brothers of Melrose initially participated in the expansion of the cereal-growing district. By the 1160s, however, only a decade after Bernard of Clairvaux's death, the community had decided to move instead into clearance for pasture, principally for cattle but also for sheep, and into production that was geared more for the market than for domestic consumption.⁴⁰ Melrose now began actively to acquire rights to extensive districts of woodland or upland grasslands, properties that had hitherto been exploited at best extensively by peasant communities settled around their fringes. This expansion of Melrose's interests in the region reached a peak in the mid-1230s when King Alexander II (1214–49) granted the monks a substantial block of moorland in his "waste" in the heart of the Forest, over which he gave them rights of "free forest" which enabled them to exclude any other users from the property except those who had express licence to be there.⁴¹ In Ettrick, and further west in Kyle where they received similar extensive tracts of undeveloped land from

³⁹ *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, no. 1.

⁴⁰ Gilbert, "The monastic record," pp. 4–15. The need for money income may have been a consequence of the first moves towards replacement of the original timber monastic buildings in stone, itself a result of the abbey's success in attracting novices.

⁴¹ *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos 264, 265, Appendix no. 2.

the Stewart family, the monks were effectively unconstrained by pre-existing socio-economic patterns, and free to develop these properties as granges.⁴² The Kyle properties, in the upland region stretching eastwards from Mauchline into the Lowther Hills, have every appearance from the charters of having been empty of permanent settlement and only extensively exploited in the past by lowland communities to the west. This image of an empty waste being brought into useful exploitation through the labours of the monks does not, however, appear to have been a manufactured fiction of the type evident at Henryków, for the sequence of charters detailing the expansion of their grange operations also represents a steady concession of rights of constraint on development which had been imposed by the Stewart lords of Kyle. Such developments, however, also breached what had been a fundamental principle of the Cistercian rule which had ordained that no grange should be sited further from the monastery than the workforce could travel to and from in a working day. Melrose's transgression of this stricture was flagrant, for the most remote of its granges lay some 130 kms away in Carrick on the west coast.⁴³ Remote management of these properties was difficult, but the economic advantages to the abbey were such that mechanisms were devised which permitted them to retain direct control of them until the Reformation.

The economic infrastructure of this Southern Uplands region was still rudimentary by *c.* 1200, enabling Melrose to construct a system of its own that permitted it to move the products of its western estates to where the demand lay. Although the crown and magnate families were developing chartered burghs in the area, scattered from Renfrew in the North to Dumfries in the South, the market power of these new centres was limited and the monks saw better commercial prospects elsewhere for their produce. Just as Lubiąż assembled a network of granges from Silesia to Pomerania, so Melrose developed networks that ran from the west to the abbey, where some of the produce could be consumed and the surplus dispersed through the more developed regional market centres in the East, especially Roxburgh and Berwick, but also from the western granges south to Carlisle in northern England, 120 kms south-east, to where cattle were probably driven on the hoof

⁴² For the Kyle granges see *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos 66–75.

⁴³ *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos 29–37.

for slaughter or onward transit.⁴⁴ Where the monks could not obtain outright possession of property to develop as staging posts along these routes—livestock cannot be driven more than about 20–25 kms per day without beginning to lose significant body-weight—they negotiated rights to overnight grazing and access to water. Such local arrangements built on a general traditional right confirmed by Alexander II in 1230, for men travelling across country with loads to take reasonable overnight grazing for their animals wherever they happened to be.⁴⁵ It is still going too far to say that the Cistercians were the pioneers uniquely responsible for the socio-economic development of this extensive internal frontier zone, but it can be said that it was their network which secured its full integration into the burgeoning market economy of later twelfth-century Scotland.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the role of the monasteries in the socio-economic development of Poland and Scotland was both highly significant and highly varied. The de-emphasising of the Cistercian pioneering myth has permitted historians to see beyond the simplistic image of the holy frontiersmen creating a brave new world out of unconstrained Nature and its retrospective projection onto pre-Cistercian activities, and so recognise the complexity of the socio-economic systems into which the monastic colonies were planted. But the reaction against the traditional model has perhaps swung too far. In the desire to establish the pre-existence of complex economies and societies in the whole of the territories that came to be framed by the later medieval Scottish and Polish states, it has perhaps been forgotten that there were internal and external frontiers where economies and societies were far less developed or sophisticated, or had developed in fashions which differed from what historians have come to regard as the norm, and the colonies were there less constrained by pre-existing structures. In such areas the monasteries still looked to capitalise on the developmental potential of any existing economic mechanisms, but they were also able to shape future developments in line with their own cultural models. The Polish and Scottish experience, as outlined above, reveals great flexibility in approach and response in monastic resource-management regimes, with little evidence of either adherence to the artificial strictures imposed by the rules of the various orders or

⁴⁴ Fawcett and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, pp. 235–37.

⁴⁵ *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos 309, 319.

development of the supposedly distinctive approaches to estate organisation produced by the different orders so embedded in the traditional historiography. While they may not have set out deliberately to create the 'earthly paradises' which lie at the heart of the pioneering myth, they did graft their own cultural expectations onto the structures which they found already established, and in the process fostered the cultural and economic hybridity which was characteristic of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish and Polish polities.

BORDER COMMUNITIES BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND OPPORTUNITIES: SCOTLAND AND POMERANIA COMPARED

Emilia Jamroziak

Violence and destruction was an experience that was a common one for many monastic houses in medieval Europe. The best known, largely due to the nature of monastic annals, were the early medieval Viking raids in the northern Europe, but even with the disappearance of the external threat to the western part of the continent by the early eleventh century, religious houses had fallen victims of wars and localised violence.¹ The areas that were on one hand offering new economic, cultural and political possibilities for religious houses in the twelfth century were frontiers and borders, which on the other, were often unstable and violent places. Among the “new” orders of the twelfth century Cistercians were particularly active on the frontiers of medieval Europe in Portugal, Spain, Scandinavia, Prussia and the so-called Germania Slavica region. Particularly on the northern frontiers the white monks were acting as missionaries in the recently Christianised territories and formed one of the earliest layers of religious institutions.² Medieval borders which were often changing and permeable created complex societies with conflicting and complex loyalties across political boundaries.³ Those

¹ On Viking raids and monastic houses: Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, pp. 138–46; Walther, “The Vikings in the Rhineland,” pp. 164–77. On violence against monasteries in medieval France: Contamine and Goyotjeannin *La Guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Age*.

² Marques, “A introdução da Ordem de Cister em Portugal,” pp. 163–93; Wamba, *El Cister en Castilla Y Leon*, pp. 34–111, 269–81; France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*, pp. 1–108; McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark*, pp. 38–88; Wyrwa, “Bischof Christian,” pp. 245–69; Powierski, “Aspekty terytorialne,” pp. 251–69; Reimann, “Cistercian foundation,” pp. 5–16.

³ The study of medieval borders (frontiers) is a growing field with well developed theoretical bases. The Muslim-Christian frontier of Spain is the best explored area, but Central and Northern Europe have also been examined. Berend, “Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier,” pp. 55–72; Burns, “The Significance of the Frontier”; Power, “Introduction,” pp. 1–31; Abulafia, “Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity,” pp. 1–34. The broadest study, so far, of medieval societies on borders and frontiers is Bartlett, *The making of Europe*.

particular characteristics had an impact on the way in which religious institutions interacted with the lay society around them. The changeable and sometimes violent conditions in these regions made expectations, such as need for protection, more acute, but also added great need for local solutions and not necessarily always following patterns developed in the hinterlands of Cistercian growth.

The areas in the northern Europe that offered in the twelfth century new possibilities for expansion for the Cistercian order were also subject to violence and instability, which in fact, increased from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. Two of these areas will be discussed here: the English-Scottish border and Pomerania—which was a frontier of German, Danish and Polish influences—to show the mechanism of dealing with violence related to wars and attacks by neighbours. A number of Cistercian houses were founded there in both regions, in Scotland from the 1130s and in Pomerania from the 1170s. On the whole, the majority of Cistercian foundations in Scotland and Pomerania were royal and ducal, and in a minority of cases they were established by noblemen with very high ambitions.⁴ The cases discussed here had all their mother houses from which the initial contingent of monks had come on the other side of a border in ethically and culturally different regions. Two of my chosen examples from Scotland were royal foundations. Melrose, a daughter house of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, was founded in 1136 by King David I who particularly favoured new orders as a part of a larger programme of church reform.⁵ Holm Cultram, a daughter house of Melrose, was founded in 1150 by Prince Henry, son of David I, in Cumbria after the region was surrendered by the English King Stephen.⁶ This foundation of a daughter house of a Scottish monastery was a clear indication that Cumbria was now a part of the Scottish kingdom. But it was not a practical undertaking in the sense that the new abbey was to guard the border, but rather a political and religious manifestation by the founder that this part of northern England was to stay under Scottish control. The third house, Dundrennan, also a daughter houses of Rievaulx, was founded in 1142 by Fergus Lord of

⁴ For more information on the background to the Cistercian foundations in Scotland and Pomerania see: Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, pp. 77–83; McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark*, pp. 79–83; Gahlbeck, *Žisterzienser und Žisterzienserinnen*, pp. 262–94; Wyrwa, *Opactwa Cysterskie na Pomorzu*.

⁵ Barrow, “From Queen Margaret to David I,” pp. 22–38; Brooke, “King David I of Scotland,” pp. 320–34; Stringer, “Reformed Monasticism,” pp. 127–65.

⁶ Barrow, “King David I,” p. 123.

Galloway, who was one of the ambitious semi-independent lords of western Scotland for whom the foundation of fashionable religious house was one of the elements of strengthening his position vis-à-vis the Scottish king.⁷ In Pomerania, the oldest of the Cistercian houses was Kołbacz, a daughter house of Esrum in Denmark, founded in 1174 by Warcisław Świętobrzyc, a relative of Duke Bogusław I of Szczecin, at the height of Danish political and military expansion to the southern coast of the Baltic.⁸ Further Cistercian monasteries were established in Neumark, an area south of Pomerania between the Duchy of Great Poland and the Margravate of Brandenburg. The first one, Bierzwnik (Marienwalde), a daughter house of Kołbacz, was founded c. 1280 by Margraves Otto IV and Conrad and his son John VI of Brandenburg. The second, Mironice (pre-1945 name Himmelstädt), also a daughter house of Kołbacz, was founded in 1300 by Margrave Albrecht III. These late foundations came into being in very different circumstances from their twelfth and early thirteenth-century predecessors and faced much greater difficulties.⁹

Increasingly in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century Scottish and Pomeranian houses suffered material losses as a result of wars and other types of violence. From the 1290s onwards the Scottish-English conflicts had a significant impact on Melrose and Holm Cultram, whilst Pomerania and Neumark were subject to many destructive conflicts in the thirteenth and even more so in the fourteenth century between the Dukes of Pomerania and the Margraves of Brandenburg and the Dukes of Great Poland. Cistercian communities were resourceful and determined in their efforts to either avoid becoming victims of violence, or if that was unavoidable, to return to normality, to rebuild damaged buildings, claim back lost property, and fight for compensation. Their strategies say much about coping with uncertainty and violence in frontier societies, not just for religious institutions, but also for lay people.

Types of violence can be broadly divided into two types: first, local violence which often came from close neighbours and second, destruction which came from afar, commonly as a result of war. However, in the unstable conditions, particularly in the politically fragmented

⁷ McDonald, "Rebels without a cause?", pp. 166–87; Stringer, "Reform monasticism," pp. 127–65.

⁸ Hill, *Könige, Fürsten und Klöster*, p. 200.

⁹ *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, II, pp. 17–33, 135–57, 251–55.

Pomerania and Neumark, the line between the two was often blurred. The destruction caused by wars, however localised, put economic pressure on everyone. In such circumstances the relatively rich resources of the Cistercian houses appeared to be an easy target for their neighbours. In contrast to Scottish cases, many abbeys in Pomerania were economically much stronger than the majority of their lay neighbours. Increasingly in the thirteenth century lesser knights sold their lands to Kołbacz Abbey or exchanged them for life-long rents, a phenomenon not encountered in Scotland. Rather surprisingly, unlike in the western part of the continent, as late as fourteenth century they continued to become lay brothers, which was still a viable career option for that social group.¹⁰

The *Annals of Kołbacz*, a key source for the history of that house, records a number of attacks by lay neighbours in the second half of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth century. In fact such entries became a dominant theme of the annals in that period.¹¹ In 1269 the monks and lay brothers were expelled from the grange at Sowin and the property was held unlawfully by lay neighbours. In March, 1273, there was another attack of neighbours on two other granges causing great damage.¹² In the fourteenth century the entries devoted to violent attacks on Kołbacz are much more detailed and extensive. The first of them was conducted by Duke Otto I of Szczecin and his sons in 1321, who took control of the abbey's grange in Turza expelling monks and lay brothers from that property, but in 1342 he backed down and returned the property after the monks paid him off with 200 pounds of denars.¹³ It seems that ducal abuse of the abbey was copied by the neighbours of Kołbacz who attacked the house on several occasions in the 1320s. Firstly, in 1325 the neighbours of the abbey had stolen horses from the grange in Prilop. The action was initiated by an unnamed apostate lay brother who had some major grievances against the abbey.¹⁴ Then, in March, 1326, several granges were burned down by the Wedel family, one of the most influential noble families operating in western Pomerania and Neumark, who were

¹⁰ Guzikowski, "Rycerstwo na Pomorzu Zachodnim," pp. 689–95.

¹¹ There are two editions of the *Annals of Kołbacz*. The older one contains mistakes and omissions, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, XIX, pp. 710–20. All the references in this article are to the second edition in PUB, I (2), pp. 467–96.

¹² PUB, I (2), p. 485.

¹³ PUB, I (2), p. 487; PUB XI, no. 6017.

¹⁴ PUB, I (2), p. 487.

also its “vassals” (as described in the annals), that is held land from the abbey.¹⁵ Finally, in October, 1329, an apostate lay brother, William, who may or may not be the same who took the action in 1325, and his brother John attacked the precinct of the abbey with an armed band. The reason for their anger was the fact that the property which William held from Duke Otto I in Ukiernica was granted to the abbey without his consent. The monks offered compensation of 701 marks and 50 pounds of pepper, which was not accepted and William and John proceeded to burn down the church, mills and grange buildings in three locations. Moreover, they captured three monks. One of them managed to escape, but two others were tortured to death. Finally, as the annals note with satisfaction God did not permit such crime to be left unpunished and William and John were captured and executed.¹⁶ It appears that these difficult neighbours became a real preoccupation of the abbey as damages became more severe. This type of problem was not isolated to Kołbacz but rather symptomatic of the time and region. The disparity in the economic resources between the abbey and its lay neighbours made Kołbacz an obvious target for disgruntled or impoverished tenants and neighbours. Although attacks on the actual precinct of the monastery also occurred, the real aim was the granges which could be targeted for a simple theft of goods (as in the case of horses taken from Prilop), or land encroached on and forcibly held (as in the case of Duke Otto’s actions in 1321). The repeated cases of burning and deliberate damage to the assets of Kołbacz Abbey by the Wedels and apostate lay brothers indicate real or perceived grievances against a dominant and powerful institution.

The last of the Cistercian houses established in Neumark, that is Mironice, was plagued by violence and encroachments from its lay neighbours from the very beginning of its existence. The founder, Margrave Albrecht III, from the junior line of the Ascanians was a nephew of Duke Otto I of Szczecin. Albrecht died a few months after the foundation in December, 1300, and the next Margrave, Herman who was the last of that dynasty, contested the original grant of his predecessor. In fact, in the following decades the abbey did not have control of much of its original endowment. Still in 1337 most of the

¹⁵ PUB, I (2), pp. 487–88; on the Wedel family see: Cramer, “Die Herren von Wedel,” pp. 63–129; Rymel, “Udział rodu Wedlów,” pp. 45–60.

¹⁶ PUB, I (2), pp. 488–89.

abbey's estates were in the hands of Margrave Ludwig and much else was held by various local knights. In the mid-fourteenth century the abbey was still in the process of erecting basic buildings. The first abbot appears in the sources only in 1372. In 1389 Pope Boniface IX finally ordered an inquest, at the request of the mother house in Kołbacz, into encroachments on Mironice's lands, which resulted in an unimpressive compensation grant from Margrave John of Luxemburg of a strip of marshland north of the abbey.¹⁷ The miserable situation of that house and pressure from neighbours was so severe that the house could not function for decades. It was partly due to the untimely death of the founder, dynastic changes and thus the lack of noble support, but even more so, because it was, in fact, too late to establish a Cistercian abbey that could thrive in the unstable frontier region. The socio-economic landscape was rather crowded with a number of lesser landholders who did not want and could not become benefactors and the appearance of the new religious house was perceived by neighbours as an encroachment on their rights. The volatile political situation did not encourage generosity to the monasteries and seems to have deterred possible benefactors. Besides fashions and expectations had also changed and mendicant houses became more popular than traditional rural-based monastic houses (with two Dominican and five Franciscan houses in the region), in addition, to characteristically for Neumark, several wealthy houses of the Hospitallers, which by their nature were ideal frontier institutions.¹⁸

In Scotland there is much less indication of this type of local, yet destructive action caused by neighbours, partly due to the different economic structure and more stable political situation until the late thirteenth century. But both in Pomerania and in Scotland the monks did not remain passive in the face of the threats and dangers posed by their neighbours. Another of the border abbeys, Holm Cultram, received in August, 1235, permission from King Henry III to post servants armed with bows to guard its granges and goods as the abbey did "suffer great damage from malefactors."¹⁹ Unfortunately the identity of the malefactor is not specified but it may be safely assumed that the

¹⁷ Gahlbeck, *Žisterzienser und Žisterzienserinnen*, pp. 196–218; *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, XVIII, pp. 411, 414.

¹⁸ Harasimowicz, "Sekularyzacja klasztorów," p. 401.

¹⁹ *Calendars of Documents Relating to Scotland*, I, no. 1244.

reference was to local neighbours or possibly some “informal” cross border raiders from Galloway.

The most obvious impact on the local level came from the alteration of the lines of borders. A good case showing the impact of the change of the borders on a monastery comes again from Holm Cultram. As a royal foundation and a daughter house of Melrose, the abbey was established at the time when Cumbria was firmly in Scottish hands. After 1157 when King Henry II re-established English rule over Cumberland and Westmoreland, the abbey continued to have a high profile and influence in the region and formal protection of the English king whilst keeping its property on the Scottish side of the border and receiving further grants there. Moreover the ecclesiastical ties with the diocese of Glasgow were maintained. However, it began to suffer from outright Scottish aggression with the onset of conflict between the kingdoms at the end of thirteenth century. Great damage was inflicted upon the abbey during the Scottish attack of 1315–16 and for a while the monks had to find shelter in neighbouring religious houses. King Edward II made a request to Tintern Abbey and other Cistercian houses to provide for the monks of Holm Cultram until their own monastery was repaired and the estates were productive again.²⁰ Throughout the first half of the fourteenth century the abbey suffered repeated damage due to Scottish raids, but also impoverishment on account of frequent, unpaid “purchases” by the English royal army going northwards. The abbey itself and its granges served as a storage facility for the English, which exposed Holm Cultram to further attacks by the Scots.²¹ The most striking example of Holm Cultram Abbey’s vulnerability was the explicit threat of attack on the abbey by Earl James Douglas in 1385 as revenge for the destruction of Melrose Abbey, which was “his favourite” monastery, by the English army.²²

In Pomerania and in Neumark the political situation was far more unstable and multi-faceted. That is, instead of two powers of Scottish and English kings, there was a multiplicity of smaller entities. Fragmentation of the main line of the Dukes of Szczecin into smaller units, growing powers of the Margraves of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Great Poland and Kujawia and later the united Polish kingdom bordering to the south

²⁰ *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, VII, p. 141.

²¹ *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, pp. 142–44; McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces*, p. 95.

²² Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, p. 189.

and south-east, and the encroachments of the Teutonic Order created a complex minefield of possible alliances and enemies for the religious houses which had to seek protection from threats and attacks that could come from many directions. It became very apparent in 1242 during the war between Duke Barnim I of Szczecin and Brandenburg. Kołbacz Abbey accepted protection of the Margraves, calculating that it might offer a defence against war damage. Margraves John I and Otto III issued a charter of protection for the abbey's estates.²³ However, Duke Barnim I decided that this was an act of blatant disloyalty. As revenge, his knights greatly damaged Kołbacz in 1247, burning the precinct of the abbey.²⁴ This left the monks with nothing else but to petition the pope for help. Bishop William of Kamień, as it was in his diocese, ruled in favour of the abbey and ordered the duke to give back property taken and to pay compensation.²⁵ Attaching loyalty to the Margraves turned out to be a bad move for the monks. The community appeared to miscalculate their alliances rather badly. The agreement with the Margraves occurred soon after the accession of a new abbot, Abraham Seyferdi (1245–1253), and might have been related to his comparative inexperience. Historians also pointed out the relative isolation, ethnic and cultural, of the Kołbacz community from the Pomeranian social context. The original contingent of Danish monks was replaced within one or at most two generations by new entrants of German origin. It never became “native” in a sense of being Slavonic.²⁶ The issue of ethnic composition and political and cultural identifications of the monks played a significant role in border politics not only in Pomerania, but also in Scotland and will be discussed further. In the 1270s and 1280s the wars between Pomerania and Brandenburg were particularly destructive. Again the monks of Kołbacz gambled with taking up protection of the margraves in 1282, but that did not prevent depredations when the margraves' armies went as far north as Stargard in 1283–4. This time however the Pomeranian Duke, Bogusław IV, was more understanding than his predecessor and during the peace negotiations promised not to take revenge on the Cistercians for their disloyalty.²⁷

²³ PUB, I, no. 404.

²⁴ PUB, I, no. 454; PUB, I (2), p. 485.

²⁵ Chłopočka, *Powstanie i rozwój wielkiej własności ziemskiej*, pp. 71–72.

²⁶ Bobowski, *Skryptorium dokumentowe*, p. 27.

²⁷ PUB, II, no. 1232, 1312.

Loyalty in the time of war was not only a question of protection. Unlike Kołbacz which had very little connection with its mother house of Esrum after the end of Danish influence in the southern Baltic region in the 1220s,²⁸ Melrose and Dundrennan abbeys maintained close connections with Rievaulx and Holm Cultram with Melrose. With the onset of Anglo-Scottish wars the contacts of a mother house with its daughters on the other side of the border were often disturbed or even cut off. In February 1327 King Edward III allowed the abbot of Holm Cultram to go to Scotland to visit the abbot of Melrose and survey estates of Holm Cultram in Galloway, but that was under a condition that “none of his [the abbot’s] retinue takes letters with them to the prejudice of the realm, or reveal any of its secrets.”²⁹ The trans-border links and connections which were much valued and profitable for the monastic communities in time of peace could render them suspicious to lay authorities.³⁰

By the second half of the fourteenth century the situation in Scotland became really difficult for religious houses. King David II and Edward III, who both considered Melrose to be within their jurisdiction, used it as a residence and a base and issued contradictory letters of protection. However David II appears to have been aware and concerned about the cross-border difficulties facing his favourite Abbey of Melrose and allowed the community to remain on good terms with the English, an essential strategy in this region, whilst protecting its lands and interests in Scotland.³¹ With the renewal of open warfare in the 1380s, Melrose was at first spared by the English army of the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, in return for a large payment in 1384. Besides the financial gain John of Gaunt might have been reluctant to attack Melrose on account of his connection with the earls of Douglas who by that time were the most important benefactors and protectors of Melrose and would not have taken very kindly to an attack on “their house.”³²

The most obvious and best recorded consequence of wars for the religious communities was material destruction. Sometimes, but not always, there was an authority responsible for it, that could be approached for

²⁸ Szacherska, *Rola Klasztorów duńskich*, p. 60.

²⁹ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, III, no. 906.

³⁰ For further examples of difficulties in contact between Melrose Abbey and its daughter house in Cumbria, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, III, no. 605.

³¹ Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, p. 187.

³² Fawcett and Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, p. 43; Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, p. 187.

compensation. The “ultimate border” abbey, Holm Cultram applied in 1315 to King Edward II for compensation due to the fact that the abbey “have been plundered and spoiled in the Scottish wars, and of late burned and wasted, their cattle driven, horses, oxen, and cows to the value of £500.” The community claimed impoverishment and helpfully suggested to the king that he should give them the advowson of the church of Burgh in Westmorland, which he rejected.³³ Similar requests were made throughout the fourteenth century by Melrose and Holm Cultram abbeys in connection to outright destruction of buildings and granges or confiscation of goods.³⁴

Requests for compensation could sometimes be successful, even highly successful. For example the foundation of Bierzwnik Abbey in 1280s was intended as a reimbursement for Kołbacz Abbey, whose property was damaged during the fighting between the Margraves of Brandenburg and the Pomeranian Dukes. The Margraves’ success extended their territorial control to the east of the River Oder and north of a line from the river Noteć and the lower part of river Warta.³⁵ In a charter issued in 1286, two years after a peace agreement between Pomerania and Brandenburg, Margraves Otto IV and John IV and Conrad gave c. 10,000 hectares to Kołbacz Abbey as compensation with a view to establishing a daughter house.³⁶ This compensation was a founding grant of Bierzwnik Abbey.

Yet, the choices of remaining loyal to one side or the other were not always easy. Even very fragmentary sources reveal that it was often a complex matter and monastic communities tried to make sense of very fast changing political landscapes. It is not that they were particularly disloyal or even morally dubious in their contact with lay powers. The actions of Kołbacz Abbey in particular, show that the convent was often lost in the rather alien world. The community never became Pomeranian. The original contingent of monks came from Denmark, but not much is known about their ethnic identity. Some historians believe that much of the personnel of Esrum Abbey was German and French, so it is possible that even the initial group of monks in Kołbacz was mixed.³⁷ There are no surviving lists of monks, but a fragmentary

³³ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, III, no. 529.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, no. 529, 967, 1157, 1561.

³⁵ Rymer, “Opactwo cysterskie w Bierzwniku,” pp. 43–44.

³⁶ PUB, II, pp. 604–605.

³⁷ Bobowski, *Skryptorium dokumentowe*, p. 27.

necrology from the abbey contains some Danish names, however there are no dates or other indications who these people were and when they died.³⁸ Abbots Palno (1219–1245) and Abraham Seyferdi (1245–1253) are known to have been Danish.³⁹ Some historians stress that because of the sporadic and loose links with Esrum, the mother house, the majority of the monks were German for whom Pomerania and its peculiarities were rather alien.⁴⁰ They relied heavily on the patronage and protection of Germanised Dukes of Szczecin or occasionally neighbouring powers, but that was not always a sure bet as we have seen so far. One of the key arguments for the provincial character and cultural alienation of Kołbacz Abbey are the *Annals of Kołbacz*.⁴¹ Yet a closer look at this text reveals conventional, but not overly narrow horizons. First of all there is a number of entries that are pertinent to the key events in Europe—appointments and deaths of popes, succession of the emperors, famine, plague, and other natural disasters. There is also a small number of lines devoted to the news about the Cistercian order. Secondly, information about events in Denmark occurred six times, mainly deaths of kings, the last being mentioned in 1325. Thirdly the annals contain a number of entries relating to Pomerania and Brandenburg. Among them are frequent records of the deaths of dukes of Szczecin, margraves of Brandenburg and bishops of Kamień Pomorski. Besides that some military campaigns and natural phenomena such as solar eclipses are mentioned. Finally, a large part of the annals is taken up with events in and pertinent to the abbey itself. The deaths of the abbots and building works on the abbey's church are, of course, listed there. Besides that, as already mentioned, a long litany of attacks and other injustices inflicted on the monastery take a prominent place.⁴² The format of the annals does not allow for complex and comprehensive information, but they should not be dismissed too easily either. There is no doubt that the convent of Kołbacz was under considerable pressure from political instability and seems to have been sometimes lost in its alliances, however the scope of the annals also shows that the monks of Kołbacz tried to make sense of the world around them and their role within it.

³⁸ PUB, I (2), pp. 493–96.

³⁹ Radecki, "Zabytki Kołbacza", p. 75.

⁴⁰ McGuire, *The Cistercians in Denmark*, pp. 133, 151–52.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 83, 153.

⁴² PUB, I (2), pp. 483–92.

The cultural and ethnic identification is also a key to understanding the cross-border connections of Melrose Abbey. The political, cultural and ethnic horizon of the monastic community was rather complex as revealed by the *Chronicle of Melrose* begun in 1173/4 and continued until the 1270s (as annals) and 1280s with further additions to the existing text and extra notes until the 1290s.⁴³ It is narrative, detailed, and provides a mixture of local ecclesiastical news, events in the abbey, narrative of English and Scottish politics and current “world events,” in particular those related to the popes, emperors and crusades. In fact, the selection is very similar to that of the *Annals of Kolbacz*. The community was rather Anglo-centric even as late as the 1250s and the chronicle contains negative stereotyping of the Scots (and even more so inhabitants of Galloway) who are seen as outsiders and treated with suspicion and sometimes contempt for their alleged “barbarity.”⁴⁴

Even if Kolbacz was alienated from its social environment and Melrose somewhat isolated, at least in the earlier stages, from its Scottish cultural milieu, all the houses mentioned here were part of a pan-European Cistercian network. This meant that the abbots had to go the General Chapter meetings, make visitations to the daughter houses and be themselves subject to visitations by their mother houses. Although there was significant variation in actual practice, particularly economic, among the monasteries belonging to the order, there was structural and ideological “common ground” among the Cistercian communities. This is again visible in the texts produced by the communities as discussed above. There is also evidence for visitation and travel to Cîteaux from all the six houses discussed here.⁴⁵ These ties were not only important because they were a convenient medium of resolving disputes, sources of advice and occasionally help, but also they provided a sense of identity, which was particularly important in the frontier situation.

⁴³ For a detailed analysis of the stratification of the chronicle and its initial Anglo-centric perspective and later shift toward a stronger Scottish viewpoint see: Broun, “Melrose Abbey and its World” and “Editing the Chronicle of Melrose.”

⁴⁴ Broun, “Melrose Abbey and its World,” pp. 10–11; Duncan, “Sources and uses,” pp. 146–85.

⁴⁵ *Statuta Capitulum Ordinis*, I, 1199: 29, 1217: 20; II, 1222: 19, 1227: 39, 1232: 35, 1234: 23, 1234: 45, 1235: 44, 1237: 39, 1240: 52, 53; III, 1270: 41, 1271: 50; 1274: 63, 1277: 82, 1278: 69, 1245: 31, 1252: 32, 1259: 37, 1366: 8.

So, the question that needs to be asked at this point is what was the place of violence in the life of Cistercian houses in two regions of northern Europe in the later Middle Ages. First off all, the setting near a frontier which was so advantageous in peace time exposed them to various dangers in war times, from “passing” military traffic to opportunistic theft to organised attacks by those who were the enemies of the monks’ friends. There were on the whole two types of violence, one localised executed mainly by the disgruntled neighbours and directed against economic resources of the religious houses and second, related to war activities. The abbey and their properties were attacked because of where they were located in the enemies’ territories, but also because this was a way of getting supplies and sources of booty. In both regions under investigation the evidence for all types of attacks increased significantly in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It became a common experience of all the monastic houses there which, in turn, developed various mechanisms to either prevent or remedy the results of violence directed against them. The success of either looking for protectors in lay authorities or ecclesiastical ones appears to have had a low success rate, whilst applications for compensation were on the whole successful as they relied on the “traditional” methods of religious houses, that is using informal support networks, friends in high places and moral pressure. Low level yet destructive actions of neighbours seem to have been more typical for the Pomeranian context than for the Scottish one, and it is an important indication of the difference in power-relations between Cistercians and their lay neighbours in both regions.

POLISH AND ENGLISH PEASANTS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PERIODS: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Piotr Guzowski

Any attempt to compare the situation of Polish and English peasants at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period presents historians with many problems. The problems arise not only from an obvious geographical distance and the lack of direct interaction between the two peasant communities, but also, if not most of all, from dramatic differences between our knowledge of the life of Polish and English peasants respectively. Historical research in the field of the situation of peasants in England, which is conducted not only in the United Kingdom, has established an illuminating and instructive pattern to follow. Access to very rich sources and a long-established interest in the problem of the peasantry have resulted in the development of effective methods, new trends and standards. The emergence of this pattern clearly also benefits Polish historians, especially since the old historiographical tradition connected with such outstanding researchers as Jan Rutkowski, Jerzy Topolski, Antoni Mączak, Leonid Żytkowicz, or Andrzej Wyczański, has recently been much neglected.

At first sight, Polish and English peasant economies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were at two radically different levels of development. However, it seems that in reality, and contrary to the opinion of some Polish historians, differences were not so significant and the process of establishing a famous dividing line along the river Elbe had just begun.

In this chapter the focus is on the comparison of some selected aspects of the life of Polish and English peasants at the turn of the Middle Ages and the early modern period. These will include: social structure, legal position, size of holdings, overall economic situation, and diet.

A Polish historian who attempts to understand and then describe in his mother tongue the structure of English society as a whole is inevitably bound to fail. The situation does not become any better when he focuses his interest on a particular group of this society, namely, peasants. Since the publication of a famous book by Alan Macfarlane, the

use of the term 'peasant' has been a matter of controversy.¹ Although it is still widely used in literature, it appears that each historian has his own definition of the term. When we study them, we are tempted to paraphrase the title of Peter Laslett's book *The World We Have Lost* and say that English terminology concerning peasants resembles the world (in which) we have lost ourselves.²

English peasants in the late Middle Ages were divided into several categories based on property right and personal freedom. One of them was the group of freemen, that is technically free of lordship, who at the end of the thirteenth century made up about 30 per cent of the population in central England,³ but their number would gradually decline. At the very end of the Middle Ages such freemen could be found only in isolated areas where drainage or clear cutting processes were still taking place,⁴ but "the model English peasant was a tenant of the king, of an ecclesiastical, monastic or lay (non-royal) land lord."⁵ Tenants were divided into freeholders, leaseholders, copyholders and villains. Differences between them reflect their different measures of freedom, different rights to land, and different levels of burdens. Bearing this distinction in mind, for the purposes of this chapter definitions from *A Dictionary of Historical Terms* will be adopted. That has the advantage of presenting this otherwise complex terminology in a relatively simple and clear way.

"In 1215 Magna Carta recognized persons holding freehold estates as having the right of freeman. The term is used today to denote land held at least for life, and occasionally indicates land which the owner is free to do what he likes with."⁶ A copyholder "held a written title to his land and a copy of his admission was kept on the manorial COURT ROLL. The property of copyholder dying intestate and without issue reverted to the lord of manor."⁷ Villein was "an unfree peasant bound to his lord, who in return for land, gave his lord service and dues... Villeins

¹ Macfarlane, *The origins of English Individualism*.

² For an introduction to the problem of late medieval and early modern peasantry Bush, "Tenant right," pp. 136–58.

³ Kosminsky, *Studies in Agrarian History*, pp. 198–206.

⁴ Smith, "The English Peasantry," p. 342.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Cook, *A Dictionary of Historical Terms*, p. 149. "Tenure is the name given to the relationship whereby a tenant 'holds' land of lord. Holding, as opposed to owning, must be explained in terms of the 'feudal system'..."; Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, pp. 255–56.

⁷ Cook, *A Dictionary of Historical Terms*, p. 91.

were the chattels of the lord and could be sold or granted away with no protection from common law except in the ancient *DEMESNE*; they were judged in the manorial court according to manorial custom.”⁸ Freeholders were obliged to pay minimal rents and perform some manorial services. Villeins, whose land holdings were comparable in size to those possessed by freeholders, had to pay much higher rents in money, dues in kind, and usually had to do more week-works.⁹ Leaseholders appeared in England at the end of the Middle Ages and their emergence was one of the legal phenomena in the post-Black Death period. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the land worked by individual peasants comprised, in fact, a number of pieces of different legal status. “The important point here is that, though the land legally belonged to the lord, in practice local custom regarding inheritance was respected and enforced through the manor court.”¹⁰ When it comes to peasants’ legal position, freemen were protected by common law whereas other categories of peasants used customary law and were judged in manor courts.¹¹

In general terms, the social and legal status of Polish and English peasants did not differ very much. In the later Middle Ages in Poland, “...the rule was established that a peasant was personally free and his dependence on the landlord derived from the fact of holding the lord’s land or from the lord’s public functions (legal dependence).”¹² Therefore, a model Polish peasant was a tenant of the king, of an ecclesiastical, monastic, or lay (non-royal) landlord. The social and legal profile of Polish peasants seems less diverse than that in England, but it is hard to say whether it resulted from widespread popularity of German law in Poland with its uniform system of village organization, a complete set of laws, and clearly regulated relations between peasants and landlords, or from the lack of sources that would prove this diversity. More than 80 per cent of the inhabitants of Polish villages in the fifteenth as well as in the sixteenth century were the so-called *kmiecie* (Lat. *Cmethones*), who were obliged to perform standard duties for their lords, that is

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

⁹ For a good introduction to this problem see: Rigby, *English Society*, pp. 17–59. See also: Schofield, *Peasant and the Community*, pp. 11–33.

¹⁰ Goldberg, *Medieval England*, p. 91.

¹¹ For peasant understanding of law Hyams, “What did Edwardian Villagers understand by Law?” pp. 69–102 and Bonfield, “What did English Villagers mean by Customary Law?” pp. 103–116.

¹² Ihnatowicz *et al.*, *Spółeczeństwo polskie*, p. 115.

pay rents, dues in kind, and provide unpaid labour service. There were some differences in the extent of these duties between different estates, sometimes even between different villages within one estate. Nevertheless, in the fifteenth century rents and unpaid labour services were of equivalent character. It meant that if the rent was relatively low, peasants were expected to work more for the landlord. Conversely, if the rent was high, labour services that peasants were supposed to provide were minimal.¹³ When it comes to land disposal and inheritance, Polish *kmiecie* “were free to administer their land at their will, and the land functioned as their *hereditarium*.”¹⁴ As in England, Polish peasants increased the acreage of their farms by leasing extra land. Theoretically, the power to judge *kmiecie* was in the hands of their landlord but in practice they took their cases to the village court that consisted of local peasants with a *soltys* (Lat. *advocatus*), who represented the landlord and was at the same time the head of the village community, as a chairman. All Polish peasants had the right to appeal to state courts and, at least theoretically, were guaranteed legal protection and the help of a solicitor. Polish peasants were granted these rights during the reign of Casimir the Great in the Wiślica Statutes issued after 1357,¹⁵ more than a hundred years before English peasants were given similar rights in the second half of the fifteenth century.

In England there was a great diversity in the size of peasant holdings. Analysis of the Hundred Rolls of the year 1279 shows that in many counties in central England the majority of peasant holdings did not exceed 10 acres each.¹⁶ After the Black Death the amount of land in peasants’ hands gradually increased,¹⁷ but at the same time the process of diversification intensified. When historians writing about the English peasantry use the term ‘substantial holding,’ they usually mean yardland or virgate, which is 30 to 40 acres¹⁸ and it corresponds approximately to a Polish one-*mansus* holding (16.8–25 ha). However, whereas it seems that farms of that size predominated in Poland, connected with the growing popularity of German law, in England they did not constitute

¹³ Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej*, p. 60.

¹⁴ Ihnatowicz *et al.*, *Spółeczeństwo polskie*, p. 115.

¹⁵ See Łysiak, “Sądownictwo królewskie,” pp. 11–68.

¹⁶ Kosminsky, *Studies in Agrarian History*, pp. 64–65; Kanzaka, “Villein rents in thirteenth-century England,” p. 599.

¹⁷ Postan, *The Medieval Economy*, pp. 139–40; Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, p. 300.

¹⁸ Schofield, *Peasant and the Community*, p. 22.

the majority.¹⁹ Though one-*mansus* holdings were standard in newly established villages that did not mean it was the size of an average peasant holding in fifteenth century Poland. It is possible that average farms were smaller because otherwise settling in newly established villages would not have been as attractive as it actually was. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this subject is very limited because extensive research has not yet been conducted on it even though sources are available.²⁰ What is known is, for example, that in the years 1409–1449 the size of 93.5 per cent of peasant holdings in gentry estates in the *lubelski district* was one *mansus*. However, by the end of the fifteenth century the percentage had dropped to 43.8.²¹ Another example is a village called Zawady where average acreage of peasant farms in the years 1466–1475 was 0.8 of a *mansus* and it decreased only slightly by the beginning of the sixteenth century.²² In Mazovia, in *starostwo* (a complex of crown estates) *sochaczewskie*, at the turn of the fifteenth century acreage of three-quarters of peasant farms was half a *mansus*.²³ The scarcity of fifteenth-century sources is the reason why it is necessary to rely on more abundant sixteenth-century material which indicates an average Polish peasant lived and worked on a farm whose size was half a *mansus*.²⁴ It should not, however, lead us to a hasty conclusion that a process of the reduction of the sizes of peasant farms took place in Poland over the period of these two centuries. On the contrary, as A. Wyczański proved in his research on *starostwo korczyńskie*, in the period in question more and more peasants leased the so called empty *mansi*,

¹⁹ Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem*, pp. 64–65.

²⁰ Some useful information about this issue may be found in available fifteenth-century gentry inventories, but they are, unfortunately, very few. Maciejewska, *Katalog inwentarzy dóbr ziemskich XVI–XVIII w.*

²¹ Jawor, *Ludność chłopska*, p. 20.

²² Wyczański, “Rolnicy Kłobucka,” pp. 35–36.

²³ Wąjs, *Powinności feudalne chłopów*, pp. 46–49.

²⁴ In the years 1537–1556, 85 per cent of peasants in *starostwo korczyńskie* held farms which were smaller than half a *mansus*: Wyczański, *Studia nad gospodarką*, p. 105. In *starostwo sandomierskie* in 1564 an average peasant farm was 0.4 of a *mansus*: Muszyńska, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie*, tables 9–12. On the Wolbork estate of the Włocławek bishopric, the average acreage decreased from 0.72 of a *mansus* in 1534 to 0.49 in 1598: Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim*, table 1. On the crown lands in Masovia in the period 1564–65, the average was 0.6 of a *mansus*: Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie na Mazowszu*, p. 28. In 15 villages on the Brok estate which belonged to the Płock bishopric, in 1595 average acreage was 0.56 of a *mansus*: Żytkowicz, “Gospodarka folwarczno pańszczyźniana,” p. 262. In *starostwo sanockie*, an average sixteenth-century farm was 0.56 of a *mansus*.

by which they increased acreage of their farms by 60 per cent.²⁵ This issue requires further research that would also take into account the system of inheritance among the Polish peasantry.

Looking at the problem of the size of holdings in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it can be seen that the number and importance of self-sufficient holdings increased at that time. According to Harry Kitsikopoulos who created a model of a peasant budget in the post-Black Death period, a minimal, and to a great extent typical, size of a peasant farm sufficient to sustain an average peasant family ranged from 15 to 18 acres (6.07 to 7.28 hectares).²⁶ According to Peter Bowden who constructed a similar model but for the beginning of the seventeenth century, a typical self-sufficient peasant farm was 30 acres (12.14 hectares) in size.²⁷ To conclude, it can be said that even though general tendencies of development of peasant landholdings in Poland and in England were contradictory—in Poland they tended to decrease in size, whereas in England they grew bigger—differences between the two countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were still not so significant.

Data concerning yield ratios in England are much more extensive than those from Poland where there are more sources providing information regarding the sixteenth century than earlier periods. In both countries, information about yield ratios comes from landlords' manors rather than from peasant farms, but we assume that these data can be treated as representative of national agriculture as a whole. Overly optimistic estimates made more than 40 years ago by Slicher van Bath²⁸ have already been revised and it appears that the productivity of peasant agriculture in late medieval England and Poland did not differ much. Historians reconstructing typical peasant budgets assume that in England in the late Middle Ages the average yield ratio for wheat, rye and barley was 1:3.5 (three and a half times that of the seed sown) and

²⁵ Wyczański, *Utworzenie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku*, p. 125. For an interesting but rather outdated discussion of the issue of empty *mansi* see: Rusiński, "Pustki-problem," pp. 9–47. A more updated viewpoint is presented by Wyczański, "Powrót do dyskusji," pp. 347–53. He points to the problem of the short time span of Polish peasants' economic activity and to the fact that sons on the death of their fathers were often too young to take over the management of the farm.

²⁶ Kitsikopoulos, "The Impact of the Black Death," p. 74.

²⁷ Bowden, "Agricultural prices," p. 71.

²⁸ In the years 1400–1499 it was 1:4.6 for wheat, 1:8.8 for rye, and 1:4.4 for oats. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History*, pp. 328–29.

1:2.65 for oats.²⁹ At the end of the sixteenth century, the wheat yield ratio had increased to 1:4.8, and that of barley to 1:4.³⁰ Fragmentary data for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Poland make it possible to roughly estimate the productivity of Polish peasant agriculture in the late Middle Ages at 1:3.5 for wheat, rye, barley, and oats. Greater availability of sources providing data for the sixteenth century permits estimating the yield ratio on an average peasant farm at that time at 1:5 for wheat and rye, 1:5.5 for barley, and 1: 4 for oats.

A comparison of model peasant budgets suggests that in the late Middle Ages an average English peasant having a seven hectare farm had to spend about one quarter of his earnings in order to pay seigneurial dues and taxes. Tithes are not included.³¹ In other words, he had to sell about 350 kilograms of wheat, which amounted to a little less than 10 per cent of his harvest, in order to cover all expenses mentioned above.³² At the same time, an average Polish peasant who worked 16 hectares of land had to sell 600 kilograms of wheat in order to pay his dues and taxes, but it also amounted to about 10 per cent of his harvest. Looking at the situation at the end of the sixteenth century, it can be seen that an English peasant holding a 15-hectare farm had to sell about 850 kilograms of wheat or 15 per cent of his harvest,³³ whereas a Polish peasant holding an 8-hectare farm had to sell about 250 kilograms of wheat and 100 kilograms of oats or 10 per cent of his harvest to pay dues and taxes. Differences between the economic situation of Polish and English peasants were not significant, even taking into account the fact that in Poland there was a tendency for farm sizes to decrease and in England it was the other way round.

The issue of differences in the economic situation of Polish and English peasants may also be analysed from the point of view of the level of commercialization of the peasant economy. In the late Middle Ages in England more than a half of peasant farm produce found its way to the market, whereas in Poland only about 30 per cent did. A major factor that contributed to the rise in commercialization was the growth in feudal and fiscal demands of landlords and the state. Such

²⁹ Kitsikopoulos, "The Impact of the Black Death," p. 73.

³⁰ Bowden, "Agricultural prices," p. 71.

³¹ Guzowski, "A changing economy," pp. 9–25; Kitsikopoulos, "The Impact of the Black Death," p. 75.

³² Kitsikopoulos, "The Impact of the Black Death," table 3, p. 78.

³³ Bowden, "Agricultural prices," pp. 77–78.

a process took place in both countries, however, there were considerable differences in the character of those demands. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Poland increases in taxation were insignificant and rents rose much less than the prices of crops. What did rise, however, was the number of days of unpaid manorial service. In the sixteenth century this burden for a half-*mansus* farm was two days a week and it inevitably affected the commercial orientation of Polish peasants in a very negative way. The situation in England was quite the opposite because, unlike in Poland, fiscal burdens increased. Moreover, the general development of the kingdom contributed to the growth in demand for farm produce. Therefore, although the aim here is not to discuss the origins of capitalism, there is a temptation to conclude that these differences in the character of feudal and state demands explain why the evolution of peasants into farmers proceeded so smoothly in England and it did not in Poland.

For England diet was examined by Christopher Dyer³⁴ and for Poland by A. Wyczański.³⁵ Both researchers used as a basis for their analyses the diet of harvest workers, but Dyer focused on the late Middle Ages, whereas Wyczański on the early modern period. What is learned from their works is, for instance, that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the amount of meat and beer consumed by English peasants gradually increased, while the consumption of bread and dairy produce went down, which, apparently, testified to the improvement in their standards of living. Looking at the diet of Polish peasants, it does not seem that there was any significant improvement in their standards of living. In both countries the major source of calories was cereal products and primarily bread and beer. In England they provided about 60 per cent of calories, whereas in Poland it was more than 80 per cent. Polish peasants supplemented their diets with different kinds of porridge and peas which were then much more popular than in England. At the same time, English peasants consumed much more fish than their Polish counterparts. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the consumption of garden produce because vegetables were grown by peasants in their own gardens so they were not recorded in manorial documents on which Dyer's and Wyczański's research was based.

³⁴ Dyer, "Changes in Diet," pp. 21–37.

³⁵ Wyczański, *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności*.

Table I. Foodstuffs analysed by calories. Elements of harvest workers' diet (in per cent)³⁶

Period and place	1424, Sedgeford, England	16th century, Małopolska
Bread and cereal products	44	67
Beer	23	14
Meat	23	8
Fish	3	0
Dairy produce	7	1
Other (e.g. peas)	0	10

Having compared the situation of Polish and English peasants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the inclination is to conclude that these geographically distant communities did not, in fact, differ so much in terms of economy, legal status, and standards of living. There were, though, some changes that occurred over the two centuries in question. In the first half of the fifteenth century the situation of a typical peasant working a typical farm was better economically and legally in Poland than in England. The situation reversed completely in the second half of the sixteenth century. Different patterns of economic development broadened the differences between the two countries in the following centuries. English peasants were much more actively and intensely involved in the economic processes in their country than their Polish counterparts, a fact which was important for the future. However, from the point of view of peasants who lived at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period the important thing was usually their survival. The critical factor determining peasants' survival at that time was self-sufficiency of their farms and that was easier to achieve in Poland.

³⁶ Based on Dyer, "Changes in Diet," p. 25; Wyczański, *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności*, p. 112.

ENGLAND AND POLAND: MEDIEVAL METROPOLISES COMPARED

Derek Keene

‘Metropolis’ is a term to conjure with, both for the rich layers of meaning that it has acquired over more than two millennia of use and for the allusive, even playful, way in which it is often employed.¹ A metropolis is frequently thought of as a capital, a city which serves as the established seat of authority or government for a region or state. In modern times, however, the word can also denote a city which is not a capital, but which through its size, wealth or cultural standing informally dominates and organises the affairs of a hierarchy of other urban centres and so plays an important part in the shaping and perception of a wide territory which may extend beyond that of the state in which it lies. This paper uses both definitions. It focuses on London and Kraków as capitals, but takes other major urban centres into account, a necessary consideration if we are effectively to explore the roles of the two capitals within the English and the Polish territories. Moreover, there is one important respect in which neither city enjoyed metropolitan standing, a factor which casts some light on the way in which the national identity of the two territories has been shaped. The discussion is arranged around three headings: the origins and geo-political settings of the two cities, a topic which touches on state formation; their commercial and demographic significance; and their roles as royal centres or capitals. There were some very obvious differences between the English and Polish territories in the period, most notably in terms of the overall density of settlement and the level and scale of urbanisation, both of which were much lower in Poland overall. In the mid sixteenth century, for example, the density of population in Poland, at 9.2 persons per square kilometre, was 64 per cent of that in England, and the level of urbanisation (percentage of population inhabiting towns with 10,000 or more inhabitants) was 9

¹ Jones, *Metropolis*. For a different approach, see Keene, “Metropolitan comparisons,” pp. 459–62.

per cent of that in England.² The paper will not make much of those differences, but will compare the two territories in terms of the shape of their urban hierarchies and of the distribution of urban, governmental and cultural functions. The differences and similarities so revealed help us to understand some of the essential characteristics of each of the two states and their cities in these two relatively peripheral regions of Europe. At the same time they throw light on more general processes and on the relationship between cities and power.

The contrasts are perhaps most striking in origins and setting. Before the Roman invasion of Britain in the first century A.D. there was no significant habitation on the site of London.³ The invaders chose as their military base a site close to a large existing settlement and stronghold which was readily accessible from the sea. They then established there the first Roman city in Britain, now known as Colchester. Within a few decades of the invasion, however, London emerged as a thriving town. Largely the creation of traders, it grew rapidly in size and wealth and became the lynchpin of Roman rule. London enjoyed immense strategic advantages. At the lowest point on the river Thames at which it was possible to construct a crossing, it quickly became the principal focus of the road system, a key instrument of Roman and later rule and an important element in the network of commercial communication. For the movement of military supplies and other bulky goods, including essential foodstuffs, the river gave London ready access far inland, across the sea to major continental cities and trans-continental routes, and, via coastal shipping, to distant parts of Britain, especially along the east coast. Despite its location in the south-eastern corner of the island, this pattern of communications made London more central to Britain than any other city. This state of affairs persists today, although its ready access to Atlantic trade from 1600 onwards has also given London a global role. Whenever demographic, economic and military conditions favoured the creation of extensive polities in southern Britain, as they did under Roman rule and again from the seventh century onwards, their potential rulers have found control of London to be essential to their plans, as a source of wealth, of other material resources and

² Figures from: Bues, "The formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy," pp. 58–81; Bacci, *The Population of Europe*, p. 36.

³ For recent surveys of the history of London in the medieval period, see Keene, "London from the post-Roman period," and Barron, "London 1300–1540," pp. 187–216, 395–440.

of status. From the Romans onwards, London has shaped successive British and English states, and commerce and ideas of civilization have tended to spread from the southeast towards what were perceived as barbarous peoples to the north and west. Moreover, the long coastal frontiers and the tight internal communications of that state have been greatly assisted its territorial unity and integrity, and threats of invasion across the frontiers have been relatively slight. These factors, along with London's great dominance over other towns, contributed to the notable strength and unity of the English state, which in some respects was a city-state.⁴

As a large concentrated settlement, eventually defended by a wall and with extra-mural suburbs, the physical form of Roman London also endured, despite a long period of virtual desertion during the fifth and sixth centuries and subsequent episodes of renewed commercial growth and re-planning in the seventh and the ninth. Defence of the city and its inhabitants was important but, except perhaps at a key stage during the late ninth- and early tenth-century campaigns to recover territory from the Danes,⁵ London has never been a strategic fortress in quite the way that many Polish urban centres were. The castles added to its defensive circuit after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, for example, seem to have been intended to control rather than to defend the city or to have a wider strategic role. In due course, however, royal castles in certain towns (but not in London) gained a new role as seats of county administration, but, as in the case of London, most such castles had been established as additions to already thriving towns.⁶

There had been no Roman cities in Polish territory. At the time of the western empire, however, it certainly contained significant urban, commercial and industrial centres, on a pattern which appears to anticipate that of later territorial organisation, and the region was probably at least as subject to the commercial and cultural influence of Rome as had been the case with pre-Roman Britain.⁷ On the other hand, the geography of later urbanization in Poland might have been very different had the territory once been under an imperial rule which had imposed a network of communications and major centres of

⁴ Keene, "Metropolitan comparisons."

⁵ Keene, "Alfred and London," pp. 235–49.

⁶ Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff*.

⁷ Gieysztor *et al.*, *History of Poland*, pp. 34–37; Knoll, "The urban development," pp. 63–136, esp. 63–69; Davies, *God's Playground*, I, pp. 39–43.

authority of which some memory survived. Kraków and other important Polish cities appear to have emerged from about 700 onwards (a period of urban revival across much of the northern and western zones of Europe) as small, defended centres which served as focal points for powerful families and territorial organisation, with adjacent and perhaps secondary commercial and craft settlements. Such 'castle towns' were generally a later development in England, where they tended to be relatively small and were characteristic of districts on the frontiers with Scotland and Wales and of the estate centres of major landlords as they were developed from about 1100 onwards. Between the seventh and the ninth century, in the territory of England as in that of contemporary Poland, power was diffused among different peoples and local rulers, who forged alliances and allegiances in constantly changing patterns. In England, however, there was a more marked tendency towards the emergence of a small number of larger 'kingdoms', of which, following the recovery after the Danish invasions, that of Wessex emerged as the core of an increasingly unitary kingdom. Among the centres of authority from the late sixth century onwards were former Roman cities, including London, where, as in several other cases, there developed a large extramural commercial settlement. Such commercial settlements also grew up on sites where there had been no Roman city: they appear to have been under royal control, but lacked fortifications. The standing of some of the former Roman centres as sites of rule was enhanced by the Romanising Christian mission sent by Pope Gregory the Great, with the assistance of Frankish rulers who exercised some form of patronage over south-eastern England. As a result several bishoprics were established or re-established with the aid of rulers who had some authority in those towns. By contrast with these English settlements, a distinctive feature of the Polish centres was the fortified seat of rule, such as the Wawel acropolis at Kraków, which was evidently chosen as a strong point for the control of the routes which met there and of the surrounding territory.⁸ At Kraków and elsewhere the often polyfocal nature of the adjacent settlement was a major influence on subsequent topographical and administrative development, in marked contrast to the relatively concentrated and unified urban topography of many English cities and of London, at least up to about 1600.

⁸ For Kraków, see Knoll, "The Urban development," pp. 78–136, and the summary, plans and site maps in Carter, *Trade and urban development*, pp. 42–62.

Like London, Kraków was a focal point for communications, especially as a crossing of long-established trans-European trade routes between Italy and the Baltic and between the Black Sea and the Rhineland. Important though these routes were for Kraków's prosperity, however, the city did not enjoy the unchallenged position that London had within the communications network of its wider region. Poland's political geography was always more complex than England's, even during the early Middle Ages. There were fewer natural geographical forces than in England (and, above all, no single dominant city) to promote the unification of polities: linguistic or cultural uniformities were insufficient. Even after the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy in the fourteenth century this diffusion of power continued to be a major structural feature of the state, where the aristocracy saw itself as a partner with, rather than the subject of, the monarch which it elected. This state of affairs was reinforced by the agrarian and commercial developments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the export of grain and hence the local control of land became a major source of wealth. Moreover, the monarch found a way of consolidating his authority against the magnates by extending the privileges of the nobility as a whole, with the result that even major towns lost much of their negotiating power within the state and politics revolved around the king, the nobility and the church.⁹ This was in marked contrast to England, where despite the great power of the monarch over towns, the mercantile interest, and especially that based in London, remained influential in national politics and after 1500 became even more so.¹⁰ In addition, the Polish territory was largely landlocked, with powerful neighbours on several sides. Thus the boundaries of effective rule varied from time to time and on all sides the territory was open to influence, invasion and annexation by other powers, most notably Hungary and Bohemia to the south and west, various forms of German authority (including the Empire, Brandenburg and the Teutonic Knights) to the west and north, nomads and semi-nomads on the east and, in due course, the Muscovites and the Ottomans. All this inhibited the establishment of a clear or long-lasting political centre of gravity, in great

⁹ Davies, *God's Playground*, I, pp. 23–37, 156–75, 197–224; Wyczański, "The problem of authority," pp. 91–108; Mączak, "The structure of power," pp. 109–34; Dalewski, "Monarchic ceremonies," pp. 245–54.

¹⁰ Palliser, "Towns and the English State," pp. 125–45; Archer, "The government of London," pp. 19–28; Gauci, *The Politics of Trade*.

contrast to the metropolitan system which developed in England with its focus on London.

Nevertheless, England and Poland had very similar experiences in their reception of Roman Christianity, which in each case contributed to a sense of territorial and national identity by replacing local cults (including British Christianity) with a single system of worship sponsored by rulers, by establishing long-lasting ecclesiastical administrative structures which supported princely government, and by promoting historical writings (such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and Master Wincenty's chronicle) which shaped national narratives in Christian terms.¹¹ The early unification of Polish territory centred on Great Poland and so it was there, presumably in Poznań or Gniezno, that in 966 Mieszko I was baptised, probably at the instance of his wife who was the daughter of the Christian king of neighbouring Bohemia. Later, Boleslaus I Chrobry brought to his fortress at Gniezno the remains of Wojciech-Adalbert, the missionary bishop of Prague who had been murdered in Prussia. The martyrdom attracted wide interest, and it was at Gniezno in 1000, at a meeting between Emperor Otto III, papal legates and Boleslaus, that Poland was established as a Christian province. Since then the archbishopric of Gniezno has remained the clearest and most stable expression of Polish territorial identity. Subordinate bishoprics were set up at Kraków, Wrocław and other centres.¹² The English followed a strikingly similar course in their adoption of Roman Christianity. In the pagan Ethelbert of Kent, who was married to the daughter of the Christian king of the Franks, Pope Gregory's mission encountered the most powerful local ruler, and so it was in his city of Canterbury rather than in London, as Gregory had originally intended, that the first province was based. These early ecclesiastical arrangements persisted, despite subsequent shifts in political geography. Thus neither of the later capitals, Kraków and London, successfully achieved the status of metropolitan see, despite vigorous attempts in the latter case. Wojciech quickly attained a lasting position as patron saint of Poland. English political units, in contrast to Poland and some other parts of Europe, displayed a less marked tendency to adopt patron saints, but it is noteworthy, and comparable to the case

¹¹ Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, pp. 27–29; Wormald, “Bede, the *Bretwalda* and the origin of the *Gens Anglorum*,” pp. 99–129.

¹² Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, pp. 10–13.

of Poland, that up to the tenth century the saint who came closest to being patron of all English kingdoms was Gregory the Great.¹³

Commercial structures and demography were closely linked. By 1100, following a century of rapid growth, London with a population of perhaps 25,000 people was at least twice the size and wealth of the next largest English city and of high standing among European cities. London's cathedral of St. Paul, as rebuilt following the fire of 1087, was the second largest structure to have been erected in Christian western and central Europe since the fourth-century basilicas in Rome. The largest, perhaps not incidentally was another English cathedral being built at the same time.¹⁴ Such investment was in part an expression of authority by the new Norman regime, but even before the Norman Conquest the major English churches associated with the state had been large by European standards. No comparable Polish project could command such resources and even at its greatest extent the national cathedral on Wawel was much smaller than twelfth-century St. Paul's. London's pre-eminence increased. In 1500 it was five times the size of the next English city and handled well over half the kingdom's overseas trade. A century later, after phenomenal expansion, London was seventeen times more populous than its nearest English rival.

The key to London's commercial success was its close relations with the Low Countries and the Rhineland and especially with the vigorous cluster of cities in Flanders and Brabant which during the late Middle Ages emerged as a market for Europe as a whole and which in aggregate exceeded London in size.¹⁵ This strengthened London's position in both internal and external trade, especially in the export of cloth and in the distribution of a wide range of imported products, many of which were obtained at markets in the Low Countries. The political unity of England under a strong monarchy, together with the power of the London market, meant that Londoners were free to trade throughout the land and were prepared to deny commercial rights claimed by the inhabitants of other towns, even when those rights were supported by the Crown. Londoners also used other English towns and ports as commercial outstations. This drove a process of 'metropolitanization'

¹³ Thacker, "Peculiaris patronus noster," pp. 1–24.

¹⁴ Keene *et al.*, *St. Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London*, pp. 17, 127–35.

¹⁵ de Vries, *European Urbanization*.

Table 1: Population estimates for a selection of leading Polish and English towns, 1100–1700

Towns	Populations by date						
	1100	1300	1400	1500	1550	1600	1700
Poland							
Kraków	5,000	10,000	14,000	17,000	18,000	15,000	?
Wrocław	5,000	20,000?	20,000	25,000	35,000	30,000	40,000
Poznań	3,000		4,000				
Gniezno	5,000						
Warsaw						15,000	15,000
Szczecin		5,000		9,000	13,000	12,000	6,000
Gdańsk		2,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	50,000	50,000
England							
London	25,000	80,000	50,000	50,000	80,000	200,000	500,000
York	11,000	25,000	16,000	8,000	8,000	12,000	11,000
Norwich	10,000	20,000	13,000	10,000	12,000	12,000	29,000
Winchester	9,000	12,000	8,000	4,000	4,000	3,000	7,000
Bristol	1,000	20,000	13,000	10,000	10,000	11,000	25,000
Newcastle		8,000	6,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	14,000
Coventry		16,000	10,000	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000
Exeter	4,000	4,000	3,000	10,000	8,000	10,000	14,000

Sources: *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, volume I, 600–1540*, ed. David M. Palliser; Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization*; Gieysztor et al., 152; Carter, *Trade*; Knoll. “Urban development”; guesswork by Derek Keene.

in which London had a widening impact on the economy and culture of the country as a whole, as a national market and as a centre of consumption and innovation. Thus London’s needs shaped agrarian specialisation and the extraction of minerals across a wide territory, and London industries combined raw materials from different parts of the country and began to outsource production of components to other regions. This enhanced the distinctiveness of regional economies. On the other hand, the craft skills and the superior markets of the Low Countries and German cities tended to undermine higher-level manufactures in London and it was not until after 1600 that London again became internationally competitive in manufacturing.¹⁶

¹⁶ Keene, “Medieval London,” pp. 99–111; Campbell *et al.*, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply*; Keene, “Small towns and the metropolis,” pp. 223–38; Keene, “Material London in time and space,” pp. 55–74; Keene, “Changes in London’s economic hinterland,” pp. 59–82; Galloway, “Town and country in England,” pp. 106–31.

As a transit and distributive centre, Kraków's economic position, from the fourteenth century onwards, resembled London's, not least in its use of a navigable river which connected it to international markets.¹⁷ Moreover, Kraków was an established urban centre, where, following the grant of German law in 1257, a substantial and carefully planned market settlement had been set up in the suburbs. Kraków processed and shipped on copper and silver from Slovakia and Hungary; its salt reached a wide market in adjoining regions; it transmitted spices and other eastern goods obtained in Black Sea ports; and became an important transit centre for cattle moving to western markets. It distributed herrings and textiles brought in from the Baltic ports and metal goods from Nuremberg. Like London, it was subordinate to more sophisticated market and manufacturing centres elsewhere. In contrast to London, it was more remote from those centres, did not dominate either internal trade or regional specialisation to the same degree, and so was compelled to engage in complex mercantile politics with towns elsewhere in Poland and adjoining regions. Thus royal patronage was more important for securing and developing Kraków's trade than it was for London's. This patronage took the form of grants of staple rights (London was able on its own account to reserve to its citizens the distributive trade in goods brought there by foreign merchants), the closure of routes through other towns and giving Kraków merchants sole rights in the trade routes to the east. In these ways Kraków became a valuable source of revenue for the crown, just as London did. Access to Toruń (the limit of navigation on the Vistula for sea-going ships) and to the Baltic ports was crucial, and although free trade on the Vistula was assured in 1411 it was not until 1466 that a satisfactory political arrangement for bringing part of Prussia under the Polish Crown was achieved. Even at the height of its prominence, which emerged as it became the capital, Kraków was overshadowed in size and business by other cities on Polish territory. In the fourteenth century Wrocław, perhaps even before it was ceded to Bohemia as part of Silesia in 1340, was larger than Kraków and by the sixteenth greatly exceeded it. Likewise, by 1400, Gdańsk had overtaken Kraków and by the mid sixteenth century was more than twice its size. In commercial terms Gdańsk had become the metropolis of Poland, fulfilling a similar role to London in the national economy, but one that was much less dominant

¹⁷ The following account of Kraków's trade is largely based on Knoll, "The Urban development," and Carter, *Trade and urban development*.

than London's. As the networks of European commerce developed and became more integrated, the focus of its activity in Poland gravitated north, leaving Kraków in a less favourable position, while the position of that other peripheral city, London, became more favourable.

While their economically peripheral locations endowed Kraków and London with some common characteristics, there are many indicators that the latter operated within a larger and more sophisticated economy. Flemish and German merchants played a significant, but not dominant, role in the trade of London and some other English towns. Although the migration of Flemings and Germans to sparsely settled regions in central Europe was not responsible for the creation of towns and trade, the German presence and interest in the principle sites of Polish trade from the thirteenth century onwards quickly became dominant ones. In Kraków the principal language of trade and local government became German, reflecting the importance of trade with German territories and the large number of resident Germans: under the charter of 1257 and until 1316 only Germans were admitted as citizens. Kraków was recognised as one of the Hanseatic towns, but is not known to have sent a representative to the Diet.¹⁸ The scale of transactions was smaller in Kraków than in London, as indicated by the much later date than in England at which Polish kings were able successfully to introduce the larger silver coins and a gold coinage. In central Europe and Germany in the early fourteenth century only Prague, the capital of a centralised monarchy with substantial local sources of silver, was able to mint the larger silver coins (which circulated widely in Little Poland) and to attract a small resident Italian business community. The absence of such a community from Poland later in the century, despite the pope's attempt to persuade the Bardi to set up a branch in Kraków, caused difficulties for the collectors of papal revenues. By contrast, resident Italian merchants and the Hungarian nobility were attracted to Buda by the Angevin monarchs' deployment of newly mined gold. Attempts to establish a resident nobility in Kraków failed.¹⁹ London had been characterised by a substantial periodically resident nobility since at least as early as 1050, by a substantial Italian business community since the mid thirteenth century and by periodic visits from Italian merchants since the early twelfth.

¹⁸ Dollinger, *La Hanse*, pp. 47–48, 157–58.

¹⁹ Spufford, *Money and its use*, pp. 136, 233–36, 252, 282.

In the kingdoms or wider polities of which they formed part neither London nor Kraków was initially a capital or primary seat of authority. London was marginal to the principal early English kingdoms, but its wealth and strategic significance attracted their rulers, who vied to control it. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the smaller city of Winchester was in many respects more significant as a seat of royal authority and administration. Thus it was not until the twelfth century that London clearly emerged as ‘the head of the realm’ or the ‘queen metropolis of the kingdom’, phrases employed by contemporary chroniclers, while Winchester faded into the background. The process by which the institutions of royal government—treasury, bureaucratic offices, courts of law, and national assemblies—settled in London was a protracted one that was only completed in the late thirteenth century. At that time, despite London having been for two centuries the place where rulers spent most of their time when in England, there was a sharp increase in the proportion they spent in or close to London. Westminster, the royal abbey and residence lying about three kilometres from the city towards the west, became the seat of government. This marginal location probably reflects the particular power of London and the way in which the monarchy, having shifted its focus from elsewhere, occupied what was in some respects a secondary position in relation to the predominantly commercial city. There was no doubt that the king normally controlled and drew much support from London but, like other rapidly growing European cities, London seems to have come to be regarded as potentially dangerous for princes. In the eleventh century, and especially following the distinctive manner in which the city submitted to the Norman conquerors, that had probably encouraged the removal of the royal palace from within the walls to a site well outside. Coronations took place at London, whose citizens from the eleventh century onwards claimed to elect the king, but at Westminster Abbey rather than at St. Paul’s Cathedral within the city walls. The abbey developed a close personal and dynastic association with the monarchy and in the later thirteenth century and in the fourteenth was the principal burial place of kings.²⁰

²⁰ Cf. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*.

Kraków's route to capital status was much less direct.²¹ Gniezno and Poznań in Great Poland served as twin foci for the early Polish kings, the former for coronation and the latter for burial. Following the Bohemian invasion and other upheavals of the eleventh century, including a relapse into paganism and the reconstitution of the church, Kraków, hitherto a regional centre, was adopted as the seat of a restored monarchy and on Wawel a new cathedral and a collegiate church associated with the palace were constructed. In the twelfth century continuing struggles between the ruler and the nobility led to the royal title being dropped. Political fragmentation ensued, but nevertheless a sense of national identity survived. The regional princes all belonged to the Piast dynasty. Some of them made attempts to achieve unity and there was a feeling that the senior prince should be associated with Kraków. Moreover, the church, notable for the large size and high intellectual and liturgical standards of its cathedral and monastic communities, made a substantial contribution to continuity. It is noteworthy that in contrast to neighbouring states whose rulers became their patron saints, the two patrons of Polish identity were the martyrs Wojciech, associated with Gniezno, and Stanislaus bishop of Kraków, 'the Polish Becket' murdered in 1079. In the thirteenth century, despite serious incursions from outside, Kraków was acknowledged as the ancient site of the Polish crown and its cathedral clergy, working with the Franciscans and Dominicans, secured the canonisation of Stanislaus in 1253. Furthermore, Kraków had acquired relics of the Roman martyr Florian in 1184 and in the thirteenth century the cathedral contained the royal insignia, including the Holy Lance given to Boleslaus I at Gniezno. In the late thirteenth-century struggle to re-establish the monarchy, Gniezno and Poznań at first assumed their former roles as coronation and burial places, partly because of the influence of the local clergy and partly because the region had a strategic importance in power struggles. As a consequence the royal insignia were removed from Kraków to Gniezno for the coronation in the 1290s and the crowns were subsequently taken to Bohemia. Nevertheless, for certain princes, Kraków offered the strategic advantage of distance from Great Poland and from the threats of Brandenburg and the Teutonic Knights. So it was that in 1320 Vladislaus Łokietek

²¹ The following account of Kraków is largely based on Knoll, "The Urban development,"; Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*; Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*; and the three volumes of Maria Podlódowska-Reklewska, J. Daranowska-Łukaszewska, A. Włodarek, eds., *Wawel*.

was crowned in the Wawel cathedral and buried there thirteen years later, inaugurating a practice among Polish monarchs which was virtually unbroken until 1764.

The ritual association between the monarch and the capital was much stronger in the case of Kraków than in that of London, where it focused on the suburban abbey rather than on the cathedral in the city. Moreover, the most popular religious cult in London was probably that of the martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury which focused on neither the abbey nor the cathedral but on his birthplace in the city's principal market street. He was adopted by the citizens as their patron and as a symbol of their independence of, and at times opposition to, the king. Westminster Abbey continued as the site for coronations, but after 1413 was no longer the habitual place of burial for English monarchs.

As a new capital Kraków required a good deal of investment. The cathedral was reconstructed from soon after 1320 and consecrated in preparation for Casimir the Great's international Congress of Kraków in 1364. The castle came to house key institutions of the kingdom, such as the treasury and the archive, but the range of governmental functions based in the capital was far less comprehensive than in London. In the old town a cloth hall and other improvements were introduced, while Casimir chartered new urban settlements nearby, in effect a group of suburban extensions. No English king could in such a way have overridden the rights of the citizens of London to control trade within the immediate vicinity of their city. A relatively dense, but still polyfocal, urban settlement emerged, dominated by the royal castle and cathedral and enclosed by a wall. In London, there was a similar spatial separation between the royal quarter and the commercial city, but there the cathedral, a major site of public and political assembly, was in the heart of the commercial city.²²

The extension of Polish rule into Red Ruthenia in 1340, dynastic union with Lithuania, control of Moldavia, and periodic personal unions with Hungary and Bohemia, meant that Polish monarchs could draw on great resources to enhance the standing of their capital, especially in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. An important expression of this was the university, which was founded by Casimir the Great and refounded in 1400 and gave Kraków a reputation for scholarship and humanism and intellectual contacts with other parts of Europe. London

²² Cf. Keene *et al.*, *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London*, pp. 30–31, 43–44.

had no university, but had close links with Oxford and Cambridge (at this time perhaps less dynamic than Kraków as intellectual centres), a number of private sites for humanist culture, and a growing educational resource in the teaching of law—informal and pragmatic developments which seem to express London's underlying character as a commercial metropolis. At the end of the fifteenth century and in the early decades of the sixteenth royal building projects in Kraków at the cathedral and royal palace drew on Italian artists and craftsmen so as to make the capital a strikingly direct expression of Renaissance ideals. While accepting that this is one of the most important sites for the reception of Italian architecture north of the Alps, current research²³ notes an intermingling with earlier Gothic traditions and the involvement of Germans and other non-Italians in these projects, as well as Renaissance work at the town cloth hall associated with the early phases of the royal project. Nevertheless, later in the sixteenth century the Wawel palace and cathedral served as a model for aristocratic residences and mausolea in the provinces.²⁴ At the same time English monarchs pursued similar plans in an around London, but had smaller resources, were more remote from the primary sources of cultural inspiration and drew much less directly on Italian models and labour. For them the Burgundian Netherlands served the more common model through which Renaissance architectural ideas were transmitted. Later in the sixteenth century, French aristocratic models served in a similar way, while for Londoners the mixed style of the commercial metropolis of Antwerp became the dominant model for up-to-date civic and domestic building. In this respect London lagged behind Kraków.²⁵

There were significant differences between the overall impact on Kraków and London of the two courts and their associated systems of government. The Polish court was splendid but there were long periods when the king was absent from Kraków in distant parts of his territory. Moreover, while the magnates of the Kraków region were especially influential in royal councils, the nobility had strong attachments to regional centres, and general assemblies and tribunals did not meet in Kraków but in more readily accessible and generally non-urban central

²³ By Dr. Tomasz Torbus and presented by him at the 'Medieval Work in Progress' seminar at the Courtauld Institute, London, 27 October 2005.

²⁴ Gieysztor *et al.*, *History of Poland*, p. 203.

²⁵ Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*; Keene, "Growth, modernisation and control," pp. 7–38.

places. In England, on the other hand, it had been the tendency since the thirteenth century for the monarch to spend more time in London or in an increasingly concentrated group of residences nearby with members of the court in attendance, while the aristocracy and many others were regular visitors to London, for parliaments, other assemblies and legal business. Moreover, the distribution of their London houses shows that the aristocrats were at least as interested in the city, with its luxury commodities, markets and finance, as in Westminster. In their expenditure, therefore, the Crown and aristocracy provided a more substantial stimulus to the prosperity of the capital than was the case in Poland.

London continued as a capital and, in a variety of ways, became ever more dominant as a metropolis within a union of kingdoms and within an empire. During its years of prosperity between the fourteenth and the mid sixteenth century, Kraków occupied a fairly central position in relation to the territories more or less controlled by the Polish monarch. Then the situation changed. In particular, the rise of the Habsburgs forced Polish rulers to adopt new strategies and alliances. Eventually they lost Bohemia and Hungary and withdrew from the Danubian region. Trade to the east was blocked. The commercial centre of gravity shifted north, while the strategic centre for Polish rulers moved north and east, not least so as to deal with the rising power of Muscovy. Lithuania came to rely more on Poland and there was an increased pressure for union, more or less achieved with the 'Union of Lublin' in 1569. These considerations contributed to the eventual shift of the political capital from Kraków to Warsaw, where by the late sixteenth century the great assembly (*Sejm*) was accustomed to meet, thus bestowing on Warsaw something of the status of capital. Even so, after a fire at Wawel Castle in 1595, King Sigismund III Vasa rebuilt the damaged part of the palace in an up-to-date Roman Baroque style, perhaps signalling an intention that Kraków should continue as the residential capital. After some years, however, and especially after his deposition from the Swedish throne in 1599, Sigismund's Swedish ambitions drew him to leave Kraków for good and settle with his court in Warsaw, which he did in 1609.²⁶ Within this new framework of the

²⁶ Bues, "The formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy"; Carter, *Trade and urban development*; Maria Podlódowska-Reklewska, J. Daranowska-Lukaszewska, A. Włodarek, eds., *Wawel*; Davies, *God's Playground*, I, pp. 326–54.

Polish state Kraków occupied a marginal position. That it remained a formal capital if not a metropolis in its fullest sense for so long afterwards is testimony to the strength and intimacy of the link between the city and the idea of the Polish crown.

By contrast, London's survival as both capital and metropolis rested primarily on its commercial role, on its size and on the relative stability of a geo-political environment in which no other city could challenge its position, even when England was part of an Anglo-Danish or an Anglo-Norman state. The relationship with the crown was a more distanced one than in the case of Kraków, and direct Crown investment in promoting the standing of London as capital and metropolis was far less significant. It was the presence of government and assemblies rather than that of the Crown alone that reinforced London's advantage. Moreover, its eccentric situation within Britain was compensated for by its ready access to lines of communication and trade. Eventually that situation at the interface between Britain, continental Europe and the Americas gave it an immense advantage for performance on a world stage.

Yet these real differences should not be allowed to obscure fundamental and lasting similarities between the role of metropolises in England and Poland which throw light on the way in which states have been formed during the medieval and other periods. In each case, conversion to normative forms of Christianity under the influence of adjacent patron states established metropolitan structures which sustained an emerging monarchy and, in the longer term, a more complex state. Urban development and strategic shifts of power led to the establishment of a new capital or metropolis in each territory, but the church conserved the original metropolitan structures which continued to make an important contribution to the sense of national identity. That contribution was more significant for Poland, where the territorial integrity of the state was much less secure than in England. That may be why the idea of the Polish Crown became closely and enduringly associated with Kraków, whose status as capital (or metropolis) owed much to the support of the Church. In Poland, however, the capital did not, in material and commercial terms, dominate the other towns to any great degree and at times was far from being the most populous centre. London, by contrast, combined the roles of royal and governmental capital with that of commercial metropolis at the head of a relatively integrated urban hierarchy. The positions of monarch and state on the one hand and of the metropolis on the other were independently

secure. Moreover, while the Crown drew on the metropolis for status and support, it was also threatened by it from time to time. These features may explain the degree of detachment which characterises the relationship between London and the Crown. The comparison thus encourages us to focus on the different ways in which equations involving towns, economic networks, territories, power, ideology and national and cultural identities might work out and suggests several new questions concerning both Kraków and London. Not the least interesting of these concern the successive episodes over the last millennium in which the two cities, or monuments within them, have been used in the programmatic projection or construction of national or monarchical identities, a process which continues today.

PART II

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

POLITY, DIPLOMACY AND WAR

THE COMMONWEALTH AND *MONARCHIA MIXTA* IN
POLISH AND ENGLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE
LATER SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Tomasz W. Gromelski

There is no doubt that early modern Polish political thought differed considerably from the doctrines and ideologies prevalent in other parts of Europe.¹ The peculiarities of Polish political theory and of the Polish constitution have been pointed out and discussed at length since the late fifteenth century by both Polish and foreign commentators. More often than not they have either praised or utterly condemned Polish distinctiveness. In the latter case they routinely projected the eighteenth and nineteenth century situation onto the sixteenth century to demonstrate how the intrinsic flaws and deficiencies of the political system and attitudes of the nobility (*szlachta*) had led to the collapse of the Republic.

It seems, however, that despite all the differences between Poland-Lithuania and the rest of Europe, in the later sixteenth century the social and political ideologies of the *szlachta* and the elites elsewhere had much in common. A comparison with Tudor England serves to illustrate this point very well and that despite the great contrasts between the two countries. In the course of the sixteenth century England achieved the status of the most centralized and unified of all European states. The power of the monarch, who was also supreme head of the church, was uncontested. He exercised jurisdiction over all his subjects and the ruling elites eagerly supported his regime to their mutual advantage. The social structure was rather fluid as there were no legally defined social estates as almost everywhere else in Europe, and the economy relied heavily on trade. Poland could not have been more different. With the nobility monopolizing all aspects of the nation's life the monarchy grew weak, although it was not as powerless as often argued, the social structure was relatively rigid as the *szlachta* separated themselves from

¹ I would like to thank Dr Steven Gunn of Merton College, University of Oxford for his help in writing this article.

other social groups and the economy was based predominantly on grain produced for local and international markets.

Despite these differences in political, social and economic conditions, not to mention geography and history, a Polish student of Tudor political thought constantly comes across familiar themes such as the concept of *rzeczpospolita* (commonwealth) and the idea of mixed government.² That such similarities should exist is not really surprising, nor is the observation very innovative as some analogies have been pointed out and discussed by both Polish and international scholars.³ After all, the sources of inspiration and factors shaping and enhancing political ideologies were at a general level the same: native traditions of liberty and mutual social obligations, Christian morality and notions of order and obedience, classical concepts of republicanism and civic virtues filtered through humanism, all centered round the idea of public good.⁴ The similarities, however, have never been examined in great detail and it is interesting to see how the concepts of *rzeczpospolita* and *monarchia mixta* worked and developed in two different political systems and in what contexts they are most frequently encountered.

Counting the number of times the word *rzeczpospolita* appears in Polish parliamentary statutes, in records of local assemblies (*sejmiki*), in political treatises, works of literature and in correspondence concerning even the most trivial matters, would undoubtedly generate some

² These are often associated with civic humanism, republicanism and classical republicanism and as such are the subject of many valuable studies especially, most recently Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*; Peltonen, "Citizenship and Republicanism," pp. 85–106; Collinson, "The Monarchical Republic," pp. 31–57; Collinson, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 1–30; Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, ii, 380–90; the acclaimed and greatly influential Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* focuses mostly on the seventeenth century.

³ See Choińska-Mika and Dean, "Representation and Accountability," pp. 91–101; Opaliński, "Civic Humanism," pp. 147–66; Hołdys, "Sejm polski i parlament angielski," pp. 497–514; Sucheni-Grabowska, "Społeczność szlachecka," pp. 85–92; Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji*; Gromelski, "The Gentry and the Szlachta." For a more general discussion of Polish political culture and the Polish constitution in the European context see for example: Wyczański, *Polska w Europie*, pp. 101–58; Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna*, pp. 297–316; Mączak, "Jedyna i nieporównywalna?," pp. 121–36; Evans, "The Polish Lithuanian Monarchy," pp. 25–38; Schramm, "Polen—Böhmen—Ungarn," pp. 417–37; Russocki, "Monarchie stanowe," pp. 76–84; Kot, "Polska Złotego Wieku," pp. 640–704.

⁴ Discussing political ideology by dissecting it into themes or currents is a convenient and accepted approach, very useful in coping with the intricacies of Tudor political thought and the Tudor constitution, this "hotch-potch of contradictions, ambiguities and unanswered questions." Morrison, *Political Thought in England*, p. 9. See Kelley, "Elizabethan political thought," pp. 47–48; Gunn, *Early Tudor Government*, pp. 14–21, 211; Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, pp. 6–13.

astronomical figure. In the sources from the later sixteenth century *rzeczpospolita* is such a common occurrence and it can be encountered in such a variety of contexts that it seems that the word had a great number of meanings or indeed none at all. Essentially, however, it was used to refer to just four or five concepts. In the most general sense *rzeczpospolita* meant quite simply the state as a whole, that is the land, the citizens with their possessions as well as “a certain order among the inhabitants.”⁵ Secondly, *rzeczpospolita* meant an independent community or a union of communities, a society: “an assemblage of a number of houses, cities, districts and lands of free men.”⁶ Thirdly, it referred to the social and political system peculiar to Poland and other similar republics or mixed monarchies existing at the time or in the past either historical or mythical. It was understood that the system was based on an agreement between members of the community who were “bound by common law, common interest and defence.”⁷ Fourthly, it meant the body politic, that is “the Polish knightly estate and the senate” and the special bond uniting and upholding it.⁸ Although in this sense the monarch was seemingly excluded from the *rzeczpospolita*, the contrast between him and the citizenry was not emphasized except in times of greater tensions between the court and the *szlachta*. For example, in the parliament (*sejm*) of 1592, Mikołaj Firlej, palatine of Kraków, observed that he did not see “why *Rzeczpospolita* should not have the power to *corrigere Principem*, and... not only *corrigere*, but also, as I understand, to *iudicare* if it came to something grave.”⁹ Finally, *rzeczpospolita* was used in the sense of public interest and public welfare, or as Jakub Przyłuski, an eminent jurist from the first half of the sixteenth century, put it “*rzeczpospolita* refers to the entire state which encompasses the well-being of all citizens and it embodies all-embracing love.”¹⁰ In fact, the sole purpose of its existence was that “all citizens might live happily, that is honestly, as Cicero teaches, and well and that they might augment their honour and their wealth, and live quiet and peaceful lives, and use and defend what is theirs, and be safe from injustice and death.”¹¹

⁵ Goślicki, *The Counsellor*, p. 10.

⁶ Orzechowski, *Policzba królestwa polskiego*, p. 22.

⁷ Przyłuski, *Leges seu statuta*, fol. D3.

⁸ Orzechowski, *Quincunx*, p. 574.

⁹ *Dyaryusze i akta*, p. 214.

¹⁰ Przyłuski, *Leges seu statuta*, fol. D3.

¹¹ Modrzewski, *Commentatorium de republica*, i, 31.

The standard depiction of the *rzeczpospolita* was a ship or the human body, "where each member is useful not solely to itself, but where the eye and the hands and the legs and other members care for each other and fulfill their duties so that the entire body fares well."¹² "The image of commonweales" could also "be found in private families," which were a natural union where the father, the mother and the children supported each other.¹³

It seems that the English also had their *rzeczpospolita*. One of the main topics to appear regularly in Tudor legislation, political writing and all other official and private sources is the concept of common weal or commonwealth.¹⁴ Just like the *rzeczpospolita* it had several meanings and was used in many contexts. In his *Remedy for Sedition*, published in 1536, Richard Morison, a very prolific political writer and propagandist, expressed a view that, "A commonwealth is... nothing else, but a certain number of cities, towns, shires, that all agree upon one law, and one head, united and knit together."¹⁵ Sir Thomas Elyot, great humanist and author of the extremely popular *The Boke Named the Governor* "compiled one definition out of many, in a compendious form" and arrived at the conclusion that commonwealth was, "a body living, compact or made of sundry estates and degrees of men, which is disposed by the order of equity and governed by the rule and moderation of reason. In the Latin tongue," he added, "it is called *Respublica*, of which the word *Res* has divers significations, and... signifieth estate, condition, substance and profit."¹⁶ Thomas Floyd elaborated on the etymology of the word which he interwove with the proper definition:

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 30.

¹³ Gośliński, *The Counsellor*, p. 10. On the meaning and uses of *rzeczpospolita* see also Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna*, pp. 27–35; Opaliński, "Civic Humanism," pp. 156–58; Backviš, "Główne tematy," pp. 473–76; Siemieński, "Polska kultura polityczna," pp. 130–65.

¹⁴ Common weal was an older idea the meaning of which seems to have been limited to the cooperation of social estates in the interest of general welfare. By the end of the sixteenth century the two had fused but continued to be used interchangeably. See Lowe, "War and Commonwealth," pp. 1–10; McLaren, *Political Culture*, pp. 198–99; Watts, "Ideas, principles and politics," pp. 110–33.

¹⁵ Morison, *A Remedy for Sedition*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, p. 1. Elyot preferred to use public weal rather than common weal because "*Plebs* in Latin is in English commonalty, and *Plebei* be commoners. And consequently there may appeare like diversity to be in English between a public weal and common weal, as should be in Latin between *Res publica* and *Res plebeia*." *Ibidem*, p. 2.

This word Commonwealth is called of the Latine word *Respublica*, quasi *res populica*, the affaires of the people: which the latines cal the Government of a common wealth, or of a civill societie, and is termed of the Grecias a political government, derived of the Greeke word *Politia*, which signifieth the regiment and estate of a citie, disposed by order of equitie, and ruled by moderation of reason.¹⁷

Charles Merbury, writing in 1581 argued that “A common weale is . . . an order of government observed in a citie, or in a countrey, as touching the magistrates that beare rule therein.”¹⁸ Finally, Sir Thomas Smith, probably the most distinguished scholar of Elizabeth I’s reign, stated in his description of England that, “a common wealth is called a society or common doing of a multitude of free men collected together and united by common accord and covenantes among themselves for the conservation of themselves aswell in peace and in war.”¹⁹ The commonwealth, therefore, far from being a mere equivalent of “state” or “society” carried overtones implying the general welfare, well-being of all citizens as individuals and as a collectivity. The general understanding was that:

like as the health of man’s body standeth not in the health of one particular part thereof but in the good and natural affect and disposition of every part coupled to other, so this true common weal in this body politic standeth not in the weal and prosperous state of any particular parte separate from other, but in every part coupled togidder, unite and knit as members of one body by love, as by the common band of all politic order and good civility.²⁰

The corporeal analogy was the one used most commonly because “a commonwealth is like a body, and so like that it can resemble to nothing so convenient as unto that.”²¹ It allowed for a clear and a compelling explanation of a wide range of ideas such as the structure of authority and social duties:

a man consisteth of divers members, as head, body, Armes, legges & so doth a good Common-wealth, of divers estates: as of a Kyng as Supreme-head and Commander, of godly Prelates as the heart and nooryshers

¹⁷ Floyd, *The Picture of perfite commonwealth*, pp. 3–4.

¹⁸ Merbury, *A briefe discourse*, fol. 4.

¹⁹ Smith, *De republica Anglorum*, p. 57.

²⁰ Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, p. 64.

²¹ Morison, *A Remedy for Sedition*, p. 12. Another popular depiction was a tree, as in Dudley, *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, p. 31; John Carpenter “likened to prince in his government, to an Archer or shooter and the people to an arrow, the lawes to the bow, and the marke to the Common-good.” Carpenter, *A preparatiue to contentation*, p. 139.

of devine vertues, of grave Iudges, Maiestrates and Counsellers, as the body and strength of Common prosperytie, of worthy Gentlemen, as the Armes, hands and executioners of the Maiestartes grave pollycies, of adventrous Marchauntes as the legges and travaylers into forreighe countreyes, for their owne Countreyes commodytie, of Plowmen, and inferiour people as the feete, which must run at the commandement of every other member.²²

Essentially, therefore, the commonwealth or commonweal and the *rzeczpospolita* or *respublica* were very capacious terms used to express the same concepts. They were built round the classical and medieval definitions, which were slightly modified to better describe contemporary conditions and sometimes to suit particular political ends. They could mean a state, a community or a wider national community, a society with all its social, political and economic institutions. More importantly, however, they implied the mutual interdependence of all subjects within an organic social order and the set of obligations placed on citizens. They emphasized the need of placing public good above private interest, condemned covetousness and stressed very strongly that, "every man ought to apply himself to the setting forward of the common weal, every man ought to study to serve his country."²³ The English focused much more on the social and religious aspects of the common weal, that is on preservation of order and hierarchy and implementation of economic and religious policies.²⁴ In Poland *rzeczpospolita* was used with increasing frequency in the context of political struggles among the monarch, the magnates and the nobility. In England the commonwealth was discussed with the greatest intensity during the troublesome 1540s and 1550s, often referred to as the "mid-Tudor crisis," when the country was coping with the "changes rare, and altogether unknown into antiquity, in matters of religion, and the state ecclesiastical,"²⁵ when "the realm [was] exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed . . . the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear . . . steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship abroad."²⁶ In Poland-Lithuania references to

²² Whetstone, *A myrour of magistrates*, pp. 7–8; On the use of commonwealth see also Skinner, "The State," pp. 104–12; Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 352–78; Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, pp. 14–15; Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen*, pp. 362–69.

²³ Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, p. 36.

²⁴ It has been long argued that political theory in Tudor England was dominated by social and economic issues. See Gunn, *Tudor Government*, p. 176; Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen*, pp. 402, 407; Morris, *Political Thought*, p. 1.

²⁵ Cited in McLaren, *Political Culture*, p. 134.

²⁶ Observations of Armigail Waad, Clerk of the Council, cited in Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil*, p. 124.

the *Rzeczpospolita* and its vital interests peaked during the 1560s reform movement, known as the Execution Movement, and during the first *interregna* in the 1570s and 1580s.

Closely linked to the concept of commonwealth was the idea of mixed or limited monarchy.²⁷ Following the classical categorization of states, early modern thinkers established that every society consisted of three elements: the ruler, the aristocratic elite and the people. Depending on which of these was the dominant force a regime could be described as either monarchic, aristocratic or democratic. Ancient authorities provided a ready recipe for a perfect government. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, a great humanist and scholar, in his celebrated treatise *De Republica emendanda* (1554) wrote:

The best form of commonwealth they consider to be the one whereby there are the following three: royal rule, the rule of the best and the rule of the people, that is such a form in which royal virtue governs all, highest honours are bestowed upon the best members of the nation, and all enjoy an equal chance for the pursuit of honour and the acclaim of valour... The more any given commonwealth resembles this form the better it seems to be, the more it differs from it the worse it is.²⁸

That a mixed government was praised by the revered old masters was a strong recommendation, but there were other arguments in favour of it. History, experience and common sense taught that collective effort and knowledge were far superior to wisdom that could be mustered by a single individual or even a group. Therefore, as a royal secretary Łukasz Górnicki pointed out in his political commentary *Droga do zupełnej wolności*, first published in 1650, half a century after his death, "That commonwealth is not wealthy, stable and safe where one governs all, neither is one where a certain number of people rule, nor one where everyone rules, but one where all of these rule, that is the king, the council and the envoys sent by the people."²⁹ Elsewhere he continued, "The human hand is not any weaker because it is divided into fingers; on contrary, it is even better that way because each finger has its function and its power and strength derives from the hand."³⁰

²⁷ Eccleshall, *Order and Reason*, p. 1, argues that although in modern discourse the two mean different things, that is a mixture of three forms and a constitutional monarchy, the distinction did not become relevant until the seventeenth century and in the sixteenth the two terms were practically synonymous.

²⁸ Modrzewski, *Commentatorium de republica*, p. 32.

²⁹ Górnicki, *Droga do zupełnej wolności*, p. 23.

³⁰ Cited in Ekes, *Żłota demokracja*, p. 111.

Mixed monarchy seemed to have been an efficient way of remedying the problem of the natural corruption and fallibility of man. Human vices, most of all covetousness, pride and lust for power, could destroy even the most powerful commonwealth but not if the power was shared and the monarch, the aristocracy and the people governed together and watched each other closely. "This commonwealth, therefore, will fare well, which will be so furnished with laws and customs that no one would be tempted to do whatever his avarice and lust would drive him to, and even if he succumbed to temptation that he would not be able to achieve or reach it."³¹ This arrangement was devised primarily with the monarch in mind. His elevated position made him particularly prone to become a tyrant because, "the government of one is of such nature that he wants others to be obedient and to follow his will, not their free conscience, and so no one under him is free."³² In fact, the popular view was that, "the Polish kings have been long vexed with the Polish nobility's liberty and there has not been one among them who would not think of violating [the nobility's] rights and liberties."³³

In terms of the constitution mixed government meant a form of decision making involving all three major components of society, that is the monarch, the aristocracy and the people. This idea was most clearly reflected in the institution of parliament. "The form of our commonwealth is such that without the *sejm* there could be no justice, no defence and no order of law. The *sejm* consists of these three parts: H. Royal M., lords of the council and envoys from the counties."³⁴ "The general *Sejm* is so called because this is where the maiestas and authority of the entire commonwealth is displayed."³⁵ The *szlachta* believed that Poland-Lithuania was a perfect example of a "mixture of the reign of one and the reign of the people, united under one law. Therefore," argued Stanisław Orzechowski, a popular pracher and author, "our Commonwealth is neither a monarchy, nor a democracy, nor an oligarchy: it should be named a polity."³⁶

³¹ Anon., *Philopolites to iest Miłośnik Ojczyzny*, fol. 60B.

³² Anon., "Libera respublica," ii, 409–10.

³³ Herburt, "Przyczyny wypowiedzenia," pp. 350–51.

³⁴ *Votum* in the *sejm* of 1556, cited in Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji*, p. 219.

³⁵ Anon., "Naprawa Rzeczypospolitej," p. 206.

³⁶ Orzechowski, *Polityka królestwa polskiego*, p. 25.

By the late sixteenth century the principle of mixed government came to be seen as the foundation of the Polish political system and to think otherwise was mere ignorance. "Who is so stupid and ignorant of Polish affairs," asked Świętosław Orzelski, a popular politician at the *sejmik* in Środa on 10 September 1590, "not to understand that the *Rzeczpospolita* depends on three estates: the king, the senate and the knightly estate?" He pointed out that under no circumstances could a single person or even a large group "command HRM, ... the Senate and the assembly of envoys several hundred strong of different nations, different laws, customs and languages."³⁷ The nobility were convinced that the Polish *Rzeczpospolita* was a model mixed state with the optimal form of government. All other constitutional arrangements were considered imperfect by definition. Each commonwealth should have:

the kings, the senate and the knightly estate, because these three estates constitute the Commonwealth. Without them all—nothing; one alone—nothing; they must exist all together. The first proposes, the second accepts and the third watches. They counsel together in concord, and they all either consent or do not allow. Where these three parts are not intact, complete and sound, there a monster not a sound man must needs be.³⁸

The idea of mixed government was also well known in Tudor England. The majority of authors adopted the taxonomy of societies and states as expounded by Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero and followed them in the observation that:

although the governements of common wealthes be thus divided into three...yet you must not take that ye shall finde any common wealth or governement simple, pure and absolute in his sort and kinde...so seldome or never shall you finde any common wealthe or governement which is absolutely and sincerely made of the one above named, but alwayes mixed with an other, and hath the name of that which is more and overruleth alwayes or for the most part the other.³⁹

In practical terms, it was believed, mixed government consisted in a constitutional arrangement "where magistrates do rule, the senate or elders gyve councill, the people use their freedom of consente."⁴⁰

³⁷ *Akta sejmikowe*, i, 119.

³⁸ Januszowski, *Statuta, prawa i konstytucje*, fol. 10.

³⁹ Smith, *De republica Anglorum*, p. 52.

⁴⁰ Barston, *Safeguarde of societie*, fol. 26.

Mixed government had several advantages. First of all it served to ensure that the country's affairs were run smoothly and with respect for ancient laws and customs. It could be achieved only if the ruler was assisted by the wisdom of the community.

This is sure and a gospel word that a country can not be long well governed nor maintained with good policy where all is ruled by the will of one, not chosen by election but cometh to it by natural succession: for seldom seen is that they which by succession come to kingdoms and realms are worthy of such high authority...better is it to the state of the commonweal to restrain from the prince such high authority, committing that only to the common counsel of the realm and parliament, assembled here in our country.⁴¹

A system whereby the monarch's prerogative as a sole law-maker and executer of justice was somehow restricted helped to curb his natural inclination to absolutism. As Reginald Pole in Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue* put it "the most wise men, considering the nature of princes, yea, and the nature of men as it is indeed, affirm a mixed state to be of all other the best and most convenient to conserve the whole out of tyranny."⁴²

That England was a mixed state was not as obvious as in case of Poland. The position of the English monarch was in many respects quite strong, especially compared to Poland, and the Tudors worked hard to make it clear that, "this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king...unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and owe to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience."⁴³ According to John Aylmer, bishop of London, however, such observations could be misleading because:

The regiment of Englande is not a mere Monarchie, as some for lacke of consideracion thinke, nor a meere Oligarchie, nor Democratie, but a rule mixte of all these, wherein ech one of these have or shoulde have like authoritie. The image whereof, and not the image but the thinge in dede, is to be sene in the parliament hous, wherein you shal finde these 3 estats: The King or Quene, which representeth the Monarchie; The

⁴¹ Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, pp. 99–101.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 165.

⁴³ *Statutes of the Realm* 24 Hen. VIII c. 12.

noble men which be the Aristocracy; and the Burgesses and Knights the Democratic.⁴⁴

To this Stephen Gardiner, another bishop and statesman, added, "And as the king's Majesty...in making laws, excludeth not in office of the whole the other two estates, no more doo the estates, because they devise and frame laws, exclude the king's majesty in the office of making laws."⁴⁵ Indeed, Sir Thomas Smith thought very highly of the role played by parliament. He wrote:

The most high and absolute power of the realme of Englande is in the Parliament...and hath the power of the whole realme both the head and the bodie. For everie Englishman is entended to bee there present, either in person or by procuracion of attornies, of what preheminence, state, dignitie, or qualitie soever he be from the Prince (be he King or Queene) to the lowest person of Englande. And the consent of the Parliament is taken to be everie mans consent.⁴⁶

Needless to say, it was believed that the form of government established in England with a three-tiered parliament at its heart was "the most mild, moderate, and best-tempered government...the which...permitteth unto us the free exercise of our country laws and liberties."⁴⁷

Mixed government was a concept with which both Polish and English writers were very well familiar. It was based on classical theory reworked by medieval and early humanist writers as well as on the well-established native tradition of limiting royal powers to protect the interests of the governed and to relieve the ruler of some of his duties. In modern terms the theory and practice of mixed monarchy were part of the ongoing discussion on sovereignty. It was a fact of life that authority was indispensable to maintain order and stability and that in every society there must be a body exercising that authority, that is making decisions concerning the vital interest of the commonwealth. On the most general level there were just three powers laying claim to this position: God, the monarch and the people. The first of these was not expected to participate directly in managing the state but the needs of the remaining two had to be satisfied and neither of them could be dispensed with. For lack of any better solution they had to

⁴⁴ Aylmer, *An harborowe for faithfull*, fol. H3.

⁴⁵ Gardiner, *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, pp. 420–21.

⁴⁶ Smith, *De republica Anglorum*, pp. 78–9.

⁴⁷ Lambarde, *William Lambarde and Local Government*, p. 83.

share supreme power. The practical side of the ensuing constitutional arrangements depended less on theory than on specific political and social conditions. This is where the Polish and English versions of mixed government differed considerably.

In Poland in the course of the sixteenth century the monarch was gradually overshadowed by the body politic and the law as an instrument of its power. It was a legacy of the fifteenth century concessions to the nobility by the Jagiellonian dynasty, aimed primarily at ensuring trouble-free succession, of the rapid promotion and political maturing of the hitherto less active masses of the nobility in the 1540s, 1550s and 1560s, and of the *interregna* during which the *szlachta* grabbed the reigns of power and took full control of the country. Already in 1507 Stanisław Zaborowski, a famous jurist and clerk of the treasury, wrote, "I do not say that in the secular estate there should be some man who would be above the king, but I assert that the community of this commonwealth is above him and that it possesses some kind of superiority, because his prerogative is limited to administering this community."⁴⁸ In 1548 young Sigismund Augustus was sternly reminded of the limitations of his office by Andrzej Górka, castellan of Poznań and Starost General of Great Poland: "The Polish crown has not come to Your Royal Majesty by birthright, nor have you conquered us by force... we have chosen you to be our Lord, to reign among free people and in no other way than according to the law and our liberties."⁴⁹ A decade later Stanisław Orzechowski summed up the position of the monarch: "the Polish king is, in my opinion, nothing more than a guardian of liberties, a voice of the common law, given by God... so that people in Poland may live peacefully... The Polish eagle is bound in ropes so that he would not fly freely across Poland as he pleases; and these ropes are strong."⁵⁰ In a way, therefore, the Polish constitution was based on the principle of triple sovereignty: of the monarch, the people and the law, where the people, that is the *szlachta* were becoming the chief interpreter of the law and the dominant part of the Republic.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Zaborowski, *Tractatus de natura iurium et bonorum regis*, p. 35.

⁴⁹ *Dyaryusze sejmów*, p. 221.

⁵⁰ Orzechowski, *Dyalog albo rozmowa*, pp. 386–87. See also Urszula Świdarska-Włodarczyk, *Mentalność szlachty*, pp. 15–23; Opaliński, "Postawa szlachty," pp. 791–808.

⁵¹ Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka*, pp. 98–99; Backvis, "Główne tematy," pp. 490–94, 500; Estreicher, "Kultura prawnicza," pp. 90–91; on *monarchia mixta* in Poland see especially: Ekes, *Trójpodział władzy*; Ekes, *Natura—wolność—władza*; Ekes, "Państwo zgody"; Ochmann, "Rzeczpospolita jako *monarchia mixta*," pp. 264–79; Mączak, *Rzządzający i rządzeni*, pp. 124–40.

In England political thought and ideas of sovereignty and mixed monarchy developed in a different, more chaotic and less predictable manner which reflected the nature and scale of problems the country was facing. Henry VIII's need to take supremacy over the Church, the rule of women, first of Mary I and then of Elizabeth I, and the Roman Catholic reaction, each strongly affected Englishmen's political beliefs and their understanding of *monarchia mixta*. This coupled with the tradition of strong and assertive monarchy produced a form of dual sovereignty whereby the ruler and the people were assigned certain roles without determining in greater detail how they stood in relation to each other.⁵² The theory was on the surface of things illogical and contradictory but it seems that it appeared fully coherent to the majority of the political nation. In 1535 Christopher St. German, a legal writer, explained, paraphrasing a fifteenth-century jurist, Sir John Fortescue, that:

there be two maner of powers that kynges and princes have over their subiectes. The one is called Jus regale that is to saye a kyngely governance. And he that hathe that power maye with his counsell make lawes to bynde his subiectes and also make declaration of Scripture... The other is called Jus regale politicum that is to saye a kynglye and a polytyke governaunce... he that ruleth by that power maye make no Lawe to bynde his subiectes without their assent... An this power hathe the kynges grace in this Realme: where he by assente of his lordes spirytuall and temperall and of his commons gathered together by his commaundement in his parlyamente maye make lawes to bynde the people.⁵³

Certain aspects of the monarch's activities were, therefore, subject to the scrutiny of the body politic whose consent was sometimes required to pursue a given policy. Another factor limiting the monarch was the law. Since time immemorial it regulated how the king should govern and often hinted that, "*rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et sub lege, quia lex facit regem.*"⁵⁴ This strain of thought was pursued further by a number of thinkers. Theologian Richard Hooker, for example, arrived at the conclusion that:

Happier that people whose law is their *Kīng* in the greatest things, than that whose *Kīng* is himself their law. Where the *Kīng* doth guide the state,

⁵² See Mendle, *Dangerous Positions*, pp. 38–62; Loades, *Tudor Government*, pp. 2–11; Hurstfield, "Was there a Tudor Despotism after all?," pp. 83–108.

⁵³ Christopher St. German, *An answer to a letter*, chap. 8.

⁵⁴ Bracton, *De leges et consuetudinibus Angliae*, p. 33. See also Greenberg, *The Radical Face*, pp. 79–115.

and the law the *King*, that commonwealth is like an harp or melodious instrument, the strings whereof are tuned and handled all by one hand, following as laws the rules and canons of Musical science.⁵⁵

The majority of the political nation seem to have believed that the English constitution was in fact based on the supremacy of law. They considered England to be quite exceptional in this respect. Edward Hake, a known satirist and jurist, wrote in 1590:

Whereas the peoples of all other nations and kingdomes for the most part, are ruled and governed by the absolute beck, will and power of their Prince, only the Englishe nation is ruled and governed by the lawes of their countrey, or rather by their kings and rulers whose rule & government is according to their lawe, and not otherwise.⁵⁶

It would be as unreasonable as the usual assumption of Polish uniqueness to insist that in terms of political and social thought early modern Poland was not unlike the rest of Europe and that the body politic consciously attempted to emulate contemporary constitutional arrangements found in other countries, although there was of course an element of admiration for states approaching the classical republican model. The specific conditions of Poland-Lithuania produced a type of political culture which, taken as a whole, makes a comparison with ideologies prevailing elsewhere difficult. However, it has not been stressed strongly enough that despite its peculiarities Polish political thought contained themes and ideas easily detectable even in distant England.

One of these themes was the concept of *rzeczpospolita* or commonwealth. Both in Poland and in England it was used in similar contexts and served to express the same ideas, most prominently the public good and well being of all citizens. The difference lay in the fact that the English put much more stress on social and religious issues whereas the *szlachta* tended to apply the term to politics.

Another idea was the notion of *monarchia mixta*. Again, while the same jargon was used to discuss the theory the practical outcome differed. The Tudor version of mixed government was essentially a continuity of Fortescue's *dominium politicum et dominium regale* whereby the

⁵⁵ Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 147.

⁵⁶ Hake, *Epieikeia*, pp. 78–80; on the concept of mixed and limited monarchy in sixteenth-century England see for example: Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, pp. 47–49, 107–15; Eccleshall, *Order and Reason*, *passim*; Mendle, *Dangerous Positions*, pp. 38–62; Hinton, "English Constitutional Doctrines," pp. 412–17; Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 200–29.

monarch enjoyed the right to operate within his prerogative but he was restrained by common law and certain matters required the consent of the body politic. In Poland the monarch was head of state, and he and his prerogative were seen as an integral part of the constitution, crucial for the well-being of the *Rzeczpospolita*. However, the king was heavily limited by law, he could not act “*sine communi consiliariorum et nuntiorum terrestrium consensu*”⁵⁷ and the political system leaned towards, *toutes proportions gardée*, a type of popular sovereignty.

The comparison between theory and practice of two concepts prominent in both Polish and English political thought is by no means complete and it serves mostly as an overview of certain threads present in early modern political and constitutional thought. Hopefully, however, it is sufficiently detailed to show the need to hold in balance stress on the idiosyncratic and contingent political development of European polities and an appreciation of the common funds of political ideas and languages on which they drew in working out their political and constitutional arrangements.

⁵⁷ *Volumina Constitutionum*, pp. i, 138.

POLAND AND BRITAIN AGAINST THE OTTOMAN TURKS: JERZY OSSOLIŃSKI'S EMBASSY TO KING JAMES I IN 1621

Paweł Rutkowski

In September, 1620, at the Moldavian village of Cecora on the Prut River, the Polish and Ottoman armies met to fight a battle that marked the beginning of the war.¹ The first encounter with the enemy was not fortunate for the Polish side, whose troops were routed and commanders either killed or held captive. The news of the defeat, quite naturally, threw Poland into a panic. Facing the pitiful shortage of resources and of soldiers who could be raised in the country and sent against the Turks, King Sigismund III and the *Sejm*, towards the end of 1620, decided to send embassies to the European powers in order to arouse their interest in the precarious situation of the Commonwealth and ask for help. One of the Polish ambassadors was Jerzy Ossoliński, whose assignment was to go to England and plead with King James I for aid.²

This was, on the surface, a rather curious idea. After all England was then the leader of European Protestantism, and as such could hardly be considered a suitable partner and ally for a country pursuing radically pro-Catholic and pro-Hapsburg policies, especially at a time when the Thirty Years' War was gaining momentum. Furthermore, taking into consideration England's secure geographical location and its natural isolationism one could barely assume that it would have been concerned with the Turkish invasion of a distant central European country.³ However, as it turned out, not only did King James take a lively interest in the Polish pleas, but also decided to contribute, although in an admittedly limited way, to the defence of the Commonwealth against the Ottomans. The reasons for cooperation between the two

¹ The Polish-Turkish war of 1620–1 was in fact merely a resumption of the conflict temporarily suspended by the truce of 1617. The *casus belli* was the Turks' impatience with constant attacks on Black Sea towns made by the Cossacks, who—as was taken for granted—were incited by the Poles. Other reasons for the war included the Polish nobles' notorious interference in Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary, the territories that lay in the Ottoman Empire's sphere of influence.

² Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, p. 116.

³ The Turks themselves admitted that England "lies so far off that she could never be touched by the forces of the Sultan," CSPV, X, p. 477.

seemingly unlikely allies were varied and largely unanticipated, however, the critical factor was King James himself and his staunch adherence to the ancient concept of Christendom which resulted in his attitude towards the Turks.

Contrary to appearances, appealing to the English court was not unreasonable at all. First, it was still remembered that an English monarch had already been involved in the conflict between Poland and Turkey. Three decades before, in 1590, the late Queen Elizabeth I, through her ambassador in Constantinople, Edward Barton, successfully helped to end the war between Turkey and Poland.⁴ The precedent for English mediation in Polish-Turkish relations having thus been set, King Sigismund, just before the outbreak of the new war, asked James to intervene in Constantinople on behalf of Poland. He was not disappointed. The English ambassador, instructed by James, delivered the royal letter that exhorted the Sultan to peace and announced he would help Poland in case of an attack.⁵ Although this time the English diplomatic action had no effect, it was a clear signal that King James was willing to side with Poland.⁶

Ossoliński's letters show that the Polish ambassador was absolutely certain that his mission to England would be a success.⁷ His boundless optimism, hardly becoming of a diplomat,⁸ however, did have some foundation. It was not only James's recent diplomatic intervention in favour of the Commonwealth and his predecessors' efforts that made

⁴ In his letter of 30 Jan. 1592 to Elizabeth the Grand Signor, Murad III, wrote, "the King of Poland having violated the treaties between us, war was declared on him. His country was put to fire and sword, and ruined. He sent Ambassadors to sue for peace, which was refused. But your Ambassador here resident has, in your name, expressed your great desire that peace should be granted to the King of Poland; therefore to satisfy you, we have yielded to your Ambassador's request..." CSPV, IX, p. 20.

⁵ Entries for June, 1620. CSPV, XVI, pp. 436, 463.

⁶ Furthermore, Ossoliński was not the first Polish envoy sent to James's court. As early as 1603 Stanisław Cikowski went to London to congratulate the new English monarch on his accession and obtain permission to recruit 8,000 infantry and to hire 20 ships. Frost, "Scottish Soldiers, Poland-Lithuania and the Thirty Years' War," p. 198. In September, 1619 James Butler, an Irishman serving in Poland managed to return from the British Isles with some troops, and in 1620, just before the battle at Cecora, Sir Arthur Aston and Thomas Buck were sent from Warsaw to England to recruit troops. Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III," pp. 299–301; Biegańska, "Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," pp. 92–93, 101.

⁷ Cf. Ossoliński's letters to the royal secretary, Jakub Zadzik (22 Feb. 1621) and the chancellor, Andrzej Lipski, in Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, pp. 138–39, 161.

⁸ Ossoliński's self-confidence might be also ascribed to his youth and lack of experience. He was only 25 and it was his first diplomatic assignment.

Ossoliński assuredly believe his embassy would be effective, but also what he knew about the king's conception of English foreign policy. It was common knowledge in contemporary Europe that James's *idée fixe* was reconciliation of the post-Reformation religious differences that would, and should, result in the long-lost unity and peace.⁹ As a consequence, throughout his reign he fostered close relations of his dominions with other European states, notably including Roman Catholic ones.¹⁰ His vision also made him pursue the policy of peace to which he repeatedly tried to win over other European powers.¹¹ Moreover, he acted as a conciliator in many international conflicts. The latter was dutifully recorded in *The Peace-Maker*, the 1618 panegyric to the king's mediatorial achievements that included, for instance, his help in settling a recent dispute between Sweden and Poland.¹²

James's pacifist foreign policy aiming at establishing durable stability in Europe was a consequence of his unhappiness about, to use his own words, "the miserable and torne estate of Christendome, which none that hath an honest heart can looke on without a weeping eye."¹³ The King of England firmly believed in the idea of *Corpus Christianum*, understood as an organic unity of peoples sharing a common territory

⁹ In his parliamentary speech on March 19, 1604, James said, "I could wish from my heart that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a generall Christian vnion in Religion, as laying wilfulnesse aside on both hands, wee might meete in the middist, which is the Center and perfection of all things," quoted in *The Political Works of James I*, p. 275. For James's ecumenical views, his plans for convening a general council which he believed to be the only effective means to reconcile all religious parties in Europe, as well as his peacemaking policies, see Patterson, *King James VI and I*.

¹⁰ In the above-mentioned speech he also referred to the Roman Catholic Church, "I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Iews were when they crucified Christ: And as I am none enimie to the life of a sicke man, because I would haue his bodie purged of ill humours; no more am I enimie to their Church, because I would haue them reforme their errors, not wishing the downethrowing of the Temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption: otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first made cleane?" *Political Works of James I*, p. 274.

¹¹ To that effect, in 1609 James sent Christian rulers of Europe his work *A Premonition of His Maiesties to All Most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes and States of Christendome*. See Patterson, *King James VI and I*, p. 89.

¹² *The Peace-Maker*. The text, ascribed to King James himself, mentioned other examples of his attempts at international reconciliation: between England and Scotland, Spain and England and the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden, Cleves and Brandenburg. Patterson, *King James VI and I*, p. 297.

¹³ Opening speech to Parliament (January 30, 1621), quoted in Patterson, *King James VI and I*, p. 305.

of Europe and religious heritage of the ancient Catholic faith.¹⁴ To him Christian Europe still formed a whole that even the religious strife of the previous century had been unable to destroy. Believing that all parties, both Catholic and Protestant, could be ultimately reconciled, and a unified Christendom restored, he himself felt obliged to strengthen or even recreate ties that would keep the members of the shattered community together. Therefore, he always attempted to apply what can now be called the Jacobean version of the solidarity principle, pithily summarised in the rhetorical question posed in his *Peace-Maker*:

if the members of a natural body, by concord assist one another, if the politic members of a kingdom help one another, and by it support itself; why shall not the monarchical bodies of many kingdoms be one mutual Christendom?¹⁵

What James dreamt of was resurrection of the *Corpus Christianum*, based on cooperation and mutual assistance of all Christian states.

A vital part of the idea of Christendom had always been a clear distinction between Christians and heathens. The medieval Other, whether it was a Muslim, Jew or barbarian inhabiting the world beyond, helped define the boundaries and qualities of the *Republica Christiana*, emphatically contrasted with the uncivilized peoples living in iniquity and ignorance of the true faith. This dualist conception conveniently served as an instrument for the further integration of the Christians that was supposed to disregard what divided them and unite them against external dangers. This proved a surprisingly durable strategy that survived almost intact till the seventeenth century, which means that King James did not differ substantially from, for instance, Pope Urban II calling for the First Crusade in 1095, when he condemned shameful internal conflicts within the body of Christendom and assured that, “a settled amitie might (by an union in Religion) be established among Christian Princes...[and] enable us all to resist the common Enemie.”¹⁶

¹⁴ For discussion of the idea of Christendom see Baumer, “The Conception of Christendom,” pp. 131–56.

¹⁵ *The Peace-Maker*, B^b.

¹⁶ The royal proclamation of 22 February, 1604 (edict against “Jesuits, Seminaries, and other Priests whatsoever, having Ordination from any authoritie by the Lawes of this Realme prohibited”) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, p. 73. In 1590 James expressed his belief that the concerted attack on the Turks could prevent a war between England, France and Spain, and thus serve as a preventive of “the effusion of Christian blood.” Baumer, “The Conception of Christendom,” p. 140. The argument used here by the future king of England was admittedly very similar to that used by the medieval pope justifying the expedition in defence of the Holy Sepulchre.

All European courts and their diplomats well knew about James's open hatred of the Turks, which he did not even try to hide. Immediately after his accession to the English throne he tightened England's Mediterranean policy by departing from amicable relations with the Muslims and signing the 1604 peace treaty with Spain, which stipulated joint resistance of the Ottoman Empire, the common foe of Christendom.¹⁷ In his 1607 report on England the Venetian ambassador, Nicolo Molin accurately summed up the English king's attitude towards Ottoman Turkey:

The King speaks of the Grand Turk with disdain. He hates him and wishes that the Christian Powers, instead of fighting among themselves, would unite to drive him out. This idea is so firmly fixed in his mind that he frequently expresses it in terms of great derision, declaring that he would always take the lead if other princes would do their part. He says he keeps an ambassador at the Porte not for his own pleasure or interest but to satisfy his subjects who are merchants there, and who bear all the charges of the Embassy; he has no other share in it beyond consent.¹⁸

James was ashamed of maintaining friendly relations with the chief enemy of Christendom, and used every occasion to show that this was not to his liking at all and that he had been forced into it.¹⁹ He also showed his displeasure whenever he heard of any other state concluding peace with the Turk,²⁰ for he insisted that all Christian princes should not parley with the common foe but unite for his ultimate destruction. On one occasion, in April, 1620, he even famously declared that:

if the Grand Seigneur moved against Christendom in force, even in favour of his son-in-law, he would use all the forces of these realms to oppose him, and would not stand even at fighting against his own daughter.²¹

¹⁷ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 144.

¹⁸ CSPV, X, p. 739.

¹⁹ During the king's dispute with the Levant Company over the tax on currants, the merchants declared that if they had to pay the tax, they would not be able to maintain the English diplomats in Turkey any longer. In reply, the king, quite unabashed, answered that, "it was a matter of no moment to him that an Ambassador should reside in Constantinople, as he had no wish to continue friendly relations with the Turk; if the Company found an Ambassador necessary for their own interests they must pay for him themselves," which understandably confused the Levant Company tradesmen. *Ibidem*, p. 278.

²⁰ A good example is his indignation at the peace treaty between the Emperor and Turkey in January, 1606. *Ibidem*, p. 654.

²¹ Words reported from London by the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Lando to the Doge and Senate. CSPV, XVI, p. 330.

Such intransigence seems to have distinguished James from other, more pragmatic, European monarchs as well as his predecessor on the English throne. They as a matter of course did make verbal use of slogans about Christendom, the threat from the common enemy and, occasionally, talked of a league against the Turks, but generally they took into account requirements of the *realpolitik* of the day, and consequently were more inclined to foster good commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire and even enter tactical alliances with it.²²

In contrast, a coalition of all Christian powers against the Ottoman Turks was a dream that was always on James's mind. To a certain extent it fed on his nostalgia for the heroic past when valiant Christian warriors fought together against the Muslims in the name of Christendom and its values. It was no coincidence that the poem valued by James above all other poems was Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, the most famous Renaissance literary text on the Crusades.²³ James's imagination—as well as his chivalric inclinations—were also excited by the memory of Lepanto, the great naval victory of the Christian world over the Turks in 1571. Notably he did not mind that the Turks had been defeated by Roman Catholic forces. In order to commemorate the event he even composed a poem entitled *Lepanto* that was first printed in 1591 and then republished in the English accession year, probably to highlight the new monarch's radical anti-Turkish attitude. James's admiration for the devotion of the crusaders of yore, ready to die for the cause, induced him to dream about following in their footsteps. Symptomatically in 1620, while imparting the news of the Turkish preparations for war in Lower Hungary to the Council, he announced in an exalted manner:

If this continues, I hope to make peace in Germany, and I declare that I will go in person against the common enemy with any prince who will join me, and will employ all my forces. I desire no greater glory than to lose my life in battle against him.²⁴

²² See also Horniker, "William Harborne," pp. 289–316, and Baumer, "England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," pp. 26–48.

²³ The full English translation of Tasso's epic poem was published in 1600 under the title *Godfrey of Bulloigne: Or the Recouerie of Ierusalem. Done into English Heroicall verse by Edward Fairefax* (Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 143). On the English reception of Tasso see Lee, "Tasso and Shakespeare's England," pp. 169–84.

²⁴ Girolamo Lando reporting from London. Entry for October, 1620, in CSPV, XVI, p. 586.

In spite of James's calls and contrary to his hopes, the chances for a universal anti-Turkish coalition, or even sending the English army to the Continent to fight the Muslims, were always slight. It did not, however, prevent the king from grasping every opportunity to disturb, in one way or another, the progress of the common foe. Although the aid granted in 1621 to the Poles to help them wage their Turkish war was not as ambitious and spectacular as a Lepanto-style alliance would have been, James became involved in supporting Poland.

He believed that no aggression by the Turks, no matter how trivial it would seem, should be disregarded. He acted on the premise, taken for granted at the time by practically everyone, that the Ottoman Empire's ultimate goal was to finish the work started a few centuries earlier and conquer the rest of Europe, including its westernmost parts. Although the decline of the Turkish state, as later became obvious, had already begun and it is disputable whether it was capable of invading the most powerful countries in the West, in the seventeenth century the fear fuelled by the collective memory of the impressive Turkish conquests in Europe never let its inhabitants forget about the seemingly imminent danger.²⁵

Unsurprisingly, the motive of fear of an invasion of western Europe did appear in ambassador Ossoliński's address to the king delivered during his first public audience. Poland was presented in it as "the strongest bulwarke of the Christian world," now "assaulted with the universall fury" of the Great Turk, who, due to the "sacrilegious thirst of enlarging his Empire," desired to devour all Europe. The speech contained a warning that if the Kingdom of Poland fell, it would become the enemy's outpost that, as "a country yeelding easiest accesse into all parts of *Europe*, most fertile of all kinde of graine, most replenished with all necessaries to build, and arme a Nauie," would serve as an excellent base for invading western Europe.²⁶ This powerful argument was further strengthened by direct appeals to the king of England, who was referred to as a "truely Christian minde" who, always mindful of "the common good of Christians," acknowledged the perilous Turkish

²⁵ Compare the title of the 1621 pamphlet that informed public opinion about the Turco-Polish war and reflected fears of the invasion of Europe, *Newes from Poland*, with another pamphlet that acquainted curious readers with the events in Poland published in the following year, *Newes from Turkie and Poland*.

²⁶ The English translation of Ossoliński's Latin oration used here was published in the same year in London: *A true copy of the Latine oration*, pp. 9, 12–13.

expansionism and understood that, “all *Europe* is strooke at through the sides of *Poland*, and that the danger toucheth all Christians.” Thus he was sharply contrasted with other princes who remained “idle and slothfull spectators of others danger,” forgetting that, “by neglecting their neighbours, they cannot but at length ruine themselves”. In conclusion, Ossoliński encouraged the king to help Poland “so afflicted,” and thus confirm his title of the Defender of the Faith and imitate his predecessors—obviously, Richard the Lionheart and other English crusaders—who once “stretch[ed] unto the bounds of farthest *Syria*, the glory of the *Brittish* name.”²⁷

Although Ossoliński’s speech might be treated merely as a mixture of conventional hyperbole and flattery, necessitated by contemporary diplomatic protocol, it was certainly more than that. Admittedly, it presented the Polish-Turkish war in almost apocalyptic terms. It also styled James as the European champion of anti-Muslim resistance and at the same time the guardian of the crusading tradition, but this was exactly what the addressee expected, accepting such a view of the Turkish danger and his own role in it. Similarly, the king’s answer, made in reply to the ambassadorial address, “I am a Christian monarch, and I know well what my duty is towards the Christian world and your king,”²⁸ was not merely a courteous and meaningless remark but, it seems, rather a declaration of the speaker’s convictions.

Royal support for Polish aid was clearly manifested in the exceptionally favourable reception the Polish ambassador met at the English court. First of all, Ossoliński’s sojourn in England was almost entirely at the king’s expense. The diplomat’s meals were prepared in the royal kitchen, royal coaches were at his disposal, and, as the Venetian ambassador noted with astonishment, “of his own accord the king had given him the great palace of Hampton Court as a place of retreat so long as he remains here.”²⁹ Ossoliński was also frequently taken to the king’s castles and palaces to be entertained there.³⁰ Other ways of honouring the guest included: at least two private audiences, occasional dinners

²⁷ *A true copy of the Latine oration*, pp. 11, 14, 15.

²⁸ Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, p. 157 (translation—PR.).

²⁹ Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, p. 163, and CSPV, XVII, p. 40. In the same volume documents show how Girolamo Lando meticulously calculated the money James spent on the Polish ambassador: “The king also had the charge for four months of 20*l*. a day, or 80 crowns in entertaining him, and he assigned to him 2,000*l*. in cash as a gift with which he can pay for his journey home.” CSPV, XVII, p. 111.

³⁰ Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, pp. 186–87.

with the king, publication of his first audience speech in English, and release of some Catholic prisoners at the Pole's request.³¹

The aid actually granted to Poland was also more generous than expected. In the first place, the king readily agreed that the Scots living in Poland could fight for their host country. He also allowed Ossoliński to levy 10,000 soldiers from among all nations in the British dominions, on condition that they would be used against the Turks and Tatars only, and promised that his ambassador in Constantinople would work on behalf of the Polish monarch toward peace with Turkey. This was the minimum plan drawn in Ossoliński's diplomatic instructions.³² However, the Polish diplomat, with the help of the Spanish ambassador, finally persuaded James to contribute to the Polish war in a more substantial manner. Eventually, James consented to lend £12,000 for conscripting the Irish regiments and, more importantly, to cover the expense of transporting 5,000 soldiers on English ships to Gdańsk.³³ The latter required the significant sum of £10,000, which the king, always afflicted with financial problems, was able to collect only by borrowing the balance of £3,000 from an Amsterdam goldsmith and giving some royal jewels as collateral for the loan.³⁴

It should be stressed that the king's decision to help Poland was made in defiance of his opponents in the Council and elsewhere who put forward arguments against any kind of British involvement in the Polish-Turkish conflict. The practical consequences of the aid granted to Turkey's enemy were highlighted, for instance, by Sir Thomas Roe, the newly appointed ambassador in Constantinople and spokesman of the Levant Company, who emphatically expressed his apprehension that the enraged Turks would now impose severe repressive measures on English merchants and diplomats.³⁵ There were also fears that the Muscovite trade could be affected as well, as the ambassador of

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 184–86, and CSPV, XVII, p. 111.

³² Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, pp. 197–98. English courtiers and foreign ambassadors thought that the Pole would be given only permission for recruiting soldiers in England. There were also doubts about whether a great number of men would be enticed by the offer. CSPV, XVI, p. 775.

³³ CSPD, CXXII and CSPV, XVII, p. 111. An extra privilege, granted primarily with the English Catholics in mind, was exemption of all soldiers from taking the customary oath of allegiance to the Anglican Church usually taken on leaving the kingdom. See Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, p. 175 and CSPV, XVII, p. 130.

³⁴ CSPV, XVII, p. 193.

³⁵ In retaliation for his efforts Ossoliński attempted to persuade the king to withdraw the appointment of Roe as ambassador in Turkey. *Ibidem*, pp. 111, 130.

Muscovy communicated to the English court the Czar's request not to help Poland.³⁶ Naturally, as is obvious in Ossoliński's account of his private audience with the king, James was well aware that some commercial reprisals might be taken in Turkey against the English and took the possibility into consideration. In fact, it was one of the reasons why he categorically ruled out the option of forming a formal alliance and sending to Poland his own regiments as too risky a move,³⁷ reckoning at the same time that the financial help would be least likely to arouse the Turks' wrath.

Equally serious doubts were articulated by those who could not accept cooperation with Poland for religious and political reasons. A good part of English public opinion was then absorbed by the problems of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine. In 1619, James's son-in-law and an influential member of the Protestant Union, accepted the crown of Bohemia offered to him by the rebels against the Emperor Ferdinand, but after only a couple of months he was defeated by the imperial forces, thus losing both his new kingdom as well as his ancestral Rhine Palatinate. The Elector, or the King of Bohemia, enjoyed universal popularity with English Protestants, and in many quarters King James was expected to strive for the restitution of the Palatinate and, if need be, even send troops to the Continent to fight for his son-in-law and the Protestant cause. Therefore, it was utterly incomprehensible to many that their monarch could deal with, or even send aid to, the King of Poland, who, as an arch-Roman Catholic as well as the emperor's brother-in-law and staunch ally, could be nothing but hostile to Frederick.³⁸

Actually, James was preoccupied with the restitution of the Palatinate for his son-in-law and daughter as much as the so-called Palatine Party, although admittedly he had never approved of the Elector's decision to accept the Bohemian crown and thus join the rebels against their legitimate ruler. However, unlike the militant radicals, he wanted to avoid becoming entangled in an armed conflict on the Continent, and

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

³⁷ Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, p. 172.

³⁸ King Sigismund had a very bad press in England. He was called a "Jesuited King," which in England sounded particularly offensive. The negative attitude was also reflected in fantastic rumours, circulating at the time (1620) in England, that the Poles were just about to expel the Jesuits and Sigismund from their country, elect the King of Bohemia (or the King of Sweden or Denmark) as king, and form an alliance with the Protestant princes. CSPD, CXV, p. 92, and CSPV, XVII, p. 454.

preferred, in compliance with his conciliatory principles, diplomatic negotiations.³⁹ In fact, by granting financial aid to the Polish king, James hoped to kill two birds with one stone: to oppose the Turks in the first place but also to induce King Sigismund to intervene at the emperor's court in favour of the rebellious elector. This policy was criticized by the Palatine Party as an example of the king's disregard for the Protestant cause as well as his political naivety.⁴⁰ It was thought that England's anti-Turkey policies would have a bearing on the Protestant-Catholic conflict in Germany, as the Polish aid scheme might make it impossible to negotiate for the Sultan's attack on the emperor in Germany and thus assist Frederick.⁴¹ Besides, one should refrain from helping Poland in its fight against the Turks, since her defeat would weaken the Roman Catholic alliance.⁴² Such arguments naturally could only irritate James, as they paid no heed to the good of Christendom and, furthermore, allowed for cooperation with the Ottoman Turks, which, in his opinion, was nothing but treason.⁴³

One might ask about the practical effects of the aid forced through by James contrary to such strong opposition. Unfortunately for James and for Poland the whole scheme proved to be a failure. The royal funds were gathered and actually paid out, with difficulty, to Ossoliński, but only 2,200 soldiers were eventually levied and embarked.⁴⁴ When the first ships set out for Poland in the autumn of 1621 it turned out that King James had not taken into account the King of Denmark, who refused to let the troops through the Danish straits on the pretext that they would be used against the King of Sweden, who not incidentally at just about that time made use of Poland's predicament to attack her. The vessels returned to England to stay. In spite of James's efforts to

³⁹ In her letter to Buckingham of September 25, 1620, James's daughter, Elizabeth, asked him to "tell the King that the enemy will more regard his blows than his words," thus voicing her and others' doubts about the efficacy of such a policy. Quoted in Patterson, *King James VI and I*, p. 304.

⁴⁰ CSPV, XVII, p. 603.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 111.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 233. As for the domestic policy, it was feared that the soldiers, mainly Roman Catholics, levied and concentrated in Ireland might start a rebellion. *Ibidem*, p. 25.

⁴³ While considering political circumstances in which the decision about the aid for Poland was taken, it should also be remembered pressure was put on James by the Protestant monarch Gustavus II Adolfus engaged in conflict with Poland, which the English king could not disregard.

⁴⁴ Borowy, "Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy," pp. 305–306; Frost, "Scottish Soldiers," p. 204.

persuade King Christian IV of Denmark that the troops were to fight the Turks alone he never changed his mind. In the end only about 500 soldiers, out of a planned 10,000, ever reached Poland but they arrived too late to take part in the war.⁴⁵

The fiasco gave James an “abundant cause for dissatisfaction, bitterness, anxiety and constant alarm,” as the Venetian ambassador noted.⁴⁶ The king’s reaction could hardly be different. He not only squandered a substantial part of his always-too-small revenue but also missed an opportunity of contributing, however modestly, to the defence of Christendom against the Turks.⁴⁷ What is more, he was once again frustrated by the actions of other monarchs who dared violate the Christian solidarity principle in the face of the Turkish danger.⁴⁸

In a sense, the failure was symbolic. James was one of the last monarchs and intellectuals who seriously thought of the unity of Christendom. Idealistically, he believed that it was still possible to reweave the torn fabric of the Christian community, and this belief always in one way or another underlay his ecumenical initiatives, political schemes, and diplomatic mediations. The nostalgia for the lost unity was also the main reason why he attached such great importance to his anti-Turkish policy, the goal of which was not only to defend Christian Europe against the common foe, but also to consolidate and strengthen it. It should be noted, however, that King James’s attachment to, and reverence for, the concept of Christendom and opposition to the Turks understood as a religious duty was becoming more and more outmoded. Gradually, the myth of a unified Christian Europe was being aban-

⁴⁵ Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, pp. 193, 222; Władysław Czapliński, *Wstęp* in Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik (1595–1621)*, pp. xxviii–xxix; Biegańska, “Żołnierze szkoccy,” pp. 93, 101; Frost, “Scottish Soldiers,” pp. 205–206.

⁴⁶ CSPV, XVII, p. 149.

⁴⁷ It turned out that the Venetian ambassador was right in predicting that the money spent on the Polish levies would be “expended uselessly.” CSPV, XVII, p. 111.

⁴⁸ The levy of new troops for Poland did not stop being an issue in Polish-English relations up to the end of James’s reign, although matters grew worse and worse due to the increasing political influence of Sweden. See e.g. Steve Murdoch, *Network North*, Chap. 7. English diplomacy was also repeatedly engaged in helping make peace between Poland and Turkey but without much effect. However, after James’s death, there was a definite turn in English policy symbolized by Charles I’s refusal, inspired by Sweden, to give Poland permission for any levies in England (CSPV, XIX, p. 487; Borowy, “Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy,” p. 312.) James’s generosity, however, was still appreciated and remembered in Poland. Thirty years later, in 1650, a subsidy was granted to Charles II, among other reasons, for the sake of his father. Frost, “Scottish Soldiers,” p. 207.

done by statesmen and politicians as redundant in the increasingly secular play of individual states' economic and political interests. The idea that James valued so much did not fit into the new times, and the symbol of its obsolescence was the fiasco of the Polish aid scheme that collapsed when confronted with European *realpolitik*.

In conclusion, it might be possible to venture a claim that King James would have enjoyed a little comfort if he had known that just as his Christendom was in a piecemeal fashion becoming a relic of the past, so was the power of the Ottoman Empire. He would have been glad to hear that sixty years after his death, at Vienna, an allied European army finally defeated the Turks. The old enemy of Christianity after that for all intents and purposes stopped being a serious threat to Europe. The victory was won with the significant participation of the Poland he had once attempted to help.

LIBERTY, VIRTUE AND THE CHOSEN PEOPLE:
BRITISH AND POLISH REPUBLICANISM IN THE EARLY
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Benedict Wagner-Rundell

Comparisons between Great Britain and Poland-Lithuania have been made before, with similarities and differences between these two political entities having been remarked upon both by early modern contemporaries, and by historians ever since. Whether the principal purpose was to stress the common features that united or the gulfs that separated the two polities, and despite the huge difference in their respective fortunes during the eighteenth century, the two states have generally been acknowledged to have been of a similar kind, both being “exceptions to eighteenth-century absolutism,”¹ that is states with mixed monarchic and parliamentary constitutions in which no single person or estate had complete control over government. The comparison between the two states, therefore, has been explicitly a political one, and the political structures and cultures of the two states have ever since been the principal point of comparison for historians, most notably Emanuel Rostworowski² and Richard Butterwick.

As well as the obvious institutional similarities between the states, both being composite states, both being parliamentary states and both being states in which comparable rights and freedoms were guaranteed to the citizens, substantial differences, in particular in the social structures of the two countries, have often been identified. Most obviously, eighteenth-century Britain and Poland-Lithuania can be distinguished by the profound difference between their citizen bodies. The Polish-Lithuania *szlachta* were a legally-defined, hereditary caste who alone enjoyed a huge array of civil, legal and political rights and privileges, and who were at best extremely reluctant to share any portion of those privileges with other groups in society. Britain, by contrast, had no equivalent to the *szlachta*, apart from the numerically tiny peerage,

¹ Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, p. 15.

² Rostworowski, “Republikanizm polski i anglosaski,” pp. 94–103. See also Rostworowski, *Historia powszechna wiek XVIII*, pp. 135ff.

and although political power effectively lay in the hands only of the propertied and especially landed, there were no legal barriers to entry into this group. At the same time, the unfree peasant was virtually non-existent and British towns and cities, although still retaining some special corporate rights and duties, were not kept separate from the political nation in anything remotely like the way their Polish-Lithuanian counterparts were.

Despite these differences, however, a striking similarity has been recognised in the political ideas of the two states, with both Poland-Lithuania and Great Britain being home to traditions of political thought that prized the liberty of the citizens to participate in politics, were extremely suspicious of all monarchical authority and prerogative, and which sought above all the establishment and preservation of government by virtuous men in the pursuit of the common good, traditions of thought that were in both countries labelled as republican. Whereas in Poland-Lithuania republicanism of one form or another was the dominant, indeed overwhelming, political orthodoxy, in Britain republicanism was much more of a minority opinion, with the name itself often being more a pejorative slur than a badge of pride. As Butterwick points out, "Polish political culture had absolutely no equivalent to the Tory doctrines of divine indefeasible hereditary right, non-resistance, and passive obedience," doctrines that remained hugely important in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain.³ British republicanism was far less influential, then, than its Polish counterpart, as can perhaps be seen in differences between the institutions of government of the two states.

With that caveat, three principal points of comparison between British and Polish republicanism have usually been identified by modern historians, namely their concepts of liberty, of virtue and of corruption. Modern historians have acknowledged that the *szlachta* in the eighteenth century had no theory of liberty, their whole political tradition being more focused on the practicalities of politics than on abstract ideas as such. But the liberty that the *szlachta* possessed and defended so strenuously has usually been described as being positive, 'republican' liberty—the freedom to participate in the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁴ This liberty has been compared

³ Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, p. 17.

⁴ For example, Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, "Anti-monarchism in Polish Republicanism,"

to the “neo-Roman” liberty described by Quentin Skinner, the principal similarity between the two concepts of freedom being the strong emphasis in both cases on the need for citizens to be free not just from actual restrictions imposed by their ruler, but from dependence upon their ruler’s will.⁵ This independence was highly prized and fiercely defended by the *szlachta*, fuelling in particular the *szlachta*’s fear of royal prerogative powers and in particular, the *szlachta*’s strong attachment to the institutions of the interregnum and the free election,⁶ and the totemic status accorded to the defence of the *liberum veto* by *szlachta* theorists and politicians alike.⁷

There are, however, two problems that arise from too close an identification between the *szlachta*’s liberty and the “neo-Roman” freedom sought by Skinner’s republicans. The first is that a number of important steps in the “neo-Roman” argument that Skinner describes are missing in the Polish case. Most obviously, the background in Roman law that supports vital parts of the “neo-Roman” argument, in particular the definitions of freedom and slavery derived from the rubric *De Statu Hominis* in the *Digest* of Justinian, is extremely difficult to find in early eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania. In general, the *szlachta* had little or no training in Roman law. The only university with a faculty of law in this period, that of Kraków, was overwhelmingly a burgher institution, with *szlachta* academics being in a minority even in its most ‘noble’ faculty, that of law.⁸ Theoretical discussions of the implications of tenets of Roman law are very rare indeed. One disputation does exist from the University of Kraków from 1762, in which the implications of the *Lex Regia* and therefore the nature of sovereignty in a republic are discussed,⁹ but given that the university’s connection with the wider political culture of the *szlachta* is hard to establish, the significance of this for day-to-day politics in the Commonwealth should not be exaggerated.¹⁰

p. 45; Lukowski, *Liberty’s Folly*, pp. 9ff.; Walicki, *The Three Traditions in Polish Patriotism*, p. 4.

⁵ Greškowiak-Krwawicz, “Deux libertés, l’ancienne et la nouvelle,” pp. 44ff.

⁶ Lukowski, “The Szlachta and the Monarchy,” pp. 132–49.

⁷ Lukowski, *Liberty’s Folly*, pp. 21f.

⁸ For an analysis of the student population of the University of Kraków see Irena Kaniewska, “Les étudiants de Cracovie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles.” See also, especially for the backgrounds of law professors, Rostworowski “Czasy Saskie,” pp. 374ff.

⁹ Pałaszowski *et al.*, *Quaestio Iuridica*.

¹⁰ Rundell, “Republicanism in the University of Kraków,” pp. 646–63.

Similarly, another important feature of Skinner's "neo-Roman" republicanism is the idea derived from classical writers such as Tacitus and Sallust that freedom is necessary to maintain some essential elements of humanity. The "neo-Romans" argued that men living under unfree governments were "discouraged," "dispirited" and "disheartened," as they sought distinction through simply currying favour with their tyrannical ruler rather than trying to earn it through virtue or merit. Under this argument, men were only real men when living in a free republic.¹¹ This argument, too, is rather hard to find in Poland-Lithuania in this period, despite a strong attachment to ideas of public virtue and strong hostility to sycophantic royal ministers and favourites. In a memorial to Jakob von Flemming of October, 1715, Stanisław Ledóchowski, the future Marshal of the Confederation of Tarnogród, distinguished the *szlachta*—born in freedom for freedom—from the servile Germans, but this idea was developed no further.¹² And once again, the 1762 Kraków treatise mentioned above does comment that in the absence of freedom men become indistinguishable from beasts,¹³ but once again the wider influence of this work must be treated sceptically.

Rather than worrying about being dehumanised by losing their freedom, during the greatest political crisis of the early eighteenth century, that is the turmoil created by the outbreak of the Great Northern War and lasting until the so-called 'Silent' *Sejm* of 1717, the *szlachta* were much more concerned about the direct consequences for themselves and their property of allowing the king to acquire too much power. The particular encroachment by King August II (1697–1733) to which the *szlachta* were most violently opposed was his introduction into the Republic's territory of the army that he controlled as Elector of Saxony. Answerable only to the elector, and operating outside the legal framework of the Commonwealth's institutions, this army was denounced as a tool of tyranny almost from the moment it entered the Commonwealth's territory. Complaints about its presence continued throughout the years of the crisis, reaching a fever pitch when in 1713 and 1714 25,000 Saxon troops entered the Commonwealth at a time when the *szlachta* could see no credible threat to the Commonwealth's

¹¹ Skinner, "A Third Concept of Liberty," p. 260. See also Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* and Skinner, "Classical Liberty and the Coming of the English Civil War," pp. 9–28.

¹² Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk [PAN], Kórnik MS 1345 fols. 103–106.

¹³ Pałaszowski *et al.*, *Quaestio Iuridica, Conclusio II*.

security, and were desperate for the return of peace and the withdrawal of all foreign armies.¹⁴ However, the principal focus of the *szlachta*'s complaints about the Saxon army was not just the theoretical principle that its presence was illegal, although this was, of course, often repeated, but rather the army's practice of supporting itself not off royal lands, as the Commonwealth's armies were supposed to do, but from forced contributions levied directly on *szlachta* property, something like a half-way measure between taxation and outright plundering.¹⁵ The *szlachta*, supposedly exempt from direct taxes to which the *Sejm* had not consented, protested bitterly against the violation of their property, which many pamphlets of the period as well as resolutions of the *Sejmiki* claimed left them without even the tiniest morsel of bread to eat.¹⁶ At the *Sejm* of 1712–13 repeated demands were made for the inviolability of *szlachta* lands to be reasserted in law, and compensation for money and goods taken in forced contributions was one of the demands made by the Confederation of Tarnogród, formed in 1715 when the *szlachta* rebelled against the Saxon occupation. Along with this demand came also calls for *szlachta* who had been illegally imprisoned to be released immediately and for illegally confiscated property to be returned to its rightful owners.¹⁷

In other words, the *szlachta* was very much concerned with the implications for their negative liberty of allowing the monarchy too much power. Their positive liberty was therefore less a way to make them fully human and more a mechanism to ensure their practical protection from interference by the king. This blending of both positive and negative liberty in *szlachta* republicanism is comparable to ideas about freedom espoused by English and British republicans in this period. The republicanism of this period, in particular the 'canonical' works

¹⁴ For example, complaints at the presence of the Saxons and calls for their withdrawal can be found in the Laudum of the Lipno Sejmik of 18th April, 1701 (Kluczycki, *Lauda Sejmików*, p. 187), in the anonymous pamphlet of 1704 "Dyskurs z Szlachcicem Senatorem o terażniejszym stanie Rzpltey Polskiej;" or in the anonymous (printed) pamphlet *Reflexya pewnego ziemianina na sejmiki* of 1705.

¹⁵ Kriegseisen, *Samorząd szlachecki*, p. 20.

¹⁶ For example, such protestations can be found in the pamphlet of the early 1710s "Ostatni głos wolności de moderno statu," Bibl Ossol, MS 271ff. 125f., in the Laudum of the Lipno Sejmik of 29th October, 1714 (Kluczycki, *Lauda Sejmików*, pp. 248f.) or in the Manifesto of the Confederation of Tarnogród of 16th November, 1715 (Bibl Czart MS 545ff. 90f.).

¹⁷ *Kondycje powtórnie do traktatu podane* 10th June, 1716, AGAD Archiwum Radziwiłłów dz. II bk. 36 pp. 104–106.

published in 1698–1700 by John Toland and his associates, can be seen as a synthesis between the abstract ideas of writers such as James Harrington and those of the broader Whig tradition.¹⁸ With reference to liberty, Worden presents the central achievement of Algernon Sidney, whose *Discourses Concerning Government* were only posthumously published by Toland in 1698, as bringing together both the classical idea of positive liberty with more modern ideas of liberty as “exemption from the dominion of another.” Sidney there “creates a language of liberty that is half-English, half-Roman,” a language that had a lasting impact on British ideas of liberty throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁹

Worden describes as the “beating pulse of Sidney’s republicanism” the language of classical republicanism that identified liberty so closely with virtue, and the concept of virtue was a major preoccupation of both Polish and British republicans. The sort of virtue that both aspired to in the early eighteenth century has been characterised as that of classical republicanism, mediated in the British case through the works of Machiavelli. This involved above all the subordination of all private goals and interests to the common good of the whole community, hence requiring honest, disinterested service from public officials, obedience from the mass of the citizens, and above all the rejection of faction. Further, this image of virtue was an austere one, decrying excessive wealth and luxury as corrupting and degrading to the human spirit. In Britain, the republicans’ attachment to this kind of virtue was epitomised in the idolisation of the figure of Cato with republicans repeatedly denouncing court factions and City financiers for placing their own particular interests before the common good. The figure of Cato was most famously adopted by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon for their series of essays *Cato’s Letters*, but the resonance of these classical images can be seen in the keenness of all political groups to try to claim Cato for themselves, and always to claim that they were the ones seeking the common good, whereas their opponents were simply a self-interested faction.²⁰

In Poland-Lithuania, very similar rhetoric can also be found. Pamphlets and speeches from the beginning of the century are littered with appeals to the common good and calls for sectional interests to be put

¹⁸ Worden “Republicanism and the Restoration 1660–1683,” pp. 139ff.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 174.

²⁰ Browning, *Political and Constitutional Ideas*, ch. 1.

aside. During the prolonged crisis of the war years, the Sapieha clan in Lithuania, their so-called “republican” opponents, the Court of August II, supporters of the anti-king Stanislaus Leszczyński and his Swedish patrons, the followings of the *Hetmans* and those calling for a reduction in the *Hetmans*’ powers all charged each other, and were denounced in their turn, with being a faction, and all claimed that they were the ones truly speaking for the common good. The background to all of this invective was a belief that the *szlachta* were heirs to the unique virtues that they imagined their ancestors had possessed. These ancestors had always resisted the scheming of kings and factions, and instead had stood up for the common interest of the whole *szlachta*, above all through defending the *szlachta*’s liberty. Eighteenth-century writers lamented their contemporaries’ failure to live up to this glorious inheritance, but at the same time apologists for the *szlachta* justified its privileged position in the Commonwealth by recourse to their ultimate trump-card. Just as, they claimed, their ancestors had been willing to lay down their lives for the common good, so too were the *szlachta* still.²¹ That it was self-sacrifice that served to give the *szlachta* the moral high-ground needed to justify its position is testimony to the power of classical ideas of republican virtue.

If this attachment to the classical ideal of virtue was all-pervasive, however, the gap between this ideal and the political reality faced in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania nonetheless allowed for different responses, and in both countries, two broad trends can be identified. On the one hand were those who believed that the machinery of the state was well-formed and needed no alteration. According to this analysis, the problem lay not with the machinery of government, but with the men governing and governed. If these bad men could be replaced with men of virtue, then all would be well. This was essentially the position, at least rhetorically, of the supporters of the *Hetmans* in early eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania and their justification for opposing any institutional change. Theoretically, this position was best summarised by Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski in his work of 1700 *De Vanitate Consiliorum* (Polish edition, 1705). He began his work with a strong attack on the ideas that government is a great and beautiful thing and that government is a way to the good life and to salvation. He then went on to claim that laws are more likely to sap the virtue of

²¹ Lukowski, “The Szlachta and their Ancestors,” pp. 161–82.

the citizens than to nurture it, rounding off his highly pessimistic view of political life.²² Salvation, he argued, can only come from within the citizens, and to this end, he urged that civil discord be ended through an amicable union of the virtuous among the citizens. Only in such a friendly union, he wrote, can the citizens be persuaded to take the necessary course of action.²³ And if there were not enough virtuous men among the citizenry, Lubomirski had no cure to offer. In the absence of sufficient virtue, he seemed to imagine that any republic is completely doomed.

A similar sort of thinking has also been identified among the less radical members of the Whig opposition in Britain during this period. Lubomirski's deep pessimism, possibly the product of his personal disappointment at not rising to great prominence under the newly-elected August II,²⁴ was not matched by the British Country Whigs. But their basic analysis was much the same. They saw no institutional problems with the post-1688 constitution, but did see "evil men in high places," a sight that prompted great fears for virtue, liberty and the constitution. Their response, like Lubomirski's, was to call for a return to the virtues of yore, placing their hopes in a change of men's hearts and not in changes in the machinery of government.²⁵

More radical members of the Whig opposition, generally termed 'republicans,' did not agree that the only problem in the British state was the personnel, arguing instead that institutions had the power to shape men for good or ill, either encouraging their virtues or else helping to corrupt them. They therefore proposed, famously in the publications of Toland's circle and in the series of *Cato's Letters*, to defend liberty and virtue through a number of institutional reforms. They called for a ban on the retention of standing armies in peacetime, and for shorter parliaments and measures such as Place Bills to cut back the powers of patronage of the Crown and the Ministry and a Peerage Bill to restrict the monarch's power to create new peers in order to prevent court factions from corrupting parliaments.²⁶ The theoretical roots of this approach can be seen in the ideas put forward by Harrington in his *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, republished by Toland in 1700.

²² Lubomirski, pp. 1f. and 7f.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 13f.

²⁴ Staszewski, "Pomysły reformatorskie," pp. 736–65, esp. 738–39.

²⁵ Browning, *Political and Constitutional Ideas*, pp. 18, 24.

²⁶ Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, p. 102f.

Harrington was not content simply to wait for citizens to become virtuous by themselves. Rather, his proposed government was designed to nurture virtue by honouring the best men and encouraging others to emulate them.²⁷

In Poland-Lithuania, the fear of what the king might do with an army answerable only to him lay behind repeated calls for the withdrawal of August II's Saxon army which ultimately erupted into a rebellion against August and the Saxon occupation in the Confederation of Tarnogród in 1715.²⁸ As for attacks on corruption and on the royal power of patronage,²⁹ a strikingly similar programme to that of the British republicans can be seen being advocated by the more radical of Polish republicans in this period too. Most prominent among these is the figure of Stanisław Dunin Karwicki, who produced his major work *De Ordinanda Republica* in the first few years of the eighteenth century.³⁰

Karwicki began this work with a brief sketch of Polish history, telling how Poland's once absolute kings had gradually ceded ever more of their prerogative powers to the virtuous *szlachta* out of gratitude for the *szlachta*'s services to the state, principally in war. By Karwicki's time, he said, the kings' powers had been drastically reduced, but they still retained one absolute, undisputed right. That was the right to appoint whomever they pleased to a huge variety of often very lucrative public offices. These offices included all of the ministers at the head of the Commonwealth's government, the commanders of its armies (the *Hetmans*) and all the members of the Senate. Using this power of appointment, the kings had not only corrupted individual citizens, winning them over to their service but had also stirred up factions and

²⁷ Worden "James Harrington and 'The Commonwealth of Oceana', 1656," in *Republicanism*, ed. Wootton, p. 106.

²⁸ Here the different institutions of the two states complicate the comparison. The armies of Poland-Lithuania were commanded by the *Hetmans* who were to a great extent independent of the king so the *szlachta* were afraid not of the king using the Commonwealth's armies to take away their liberty, but rather of his using his Saxon army for the purpose. Apart from this, however, the fear of troops answering only to the monarch was similar in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania.

²⁹ These attacks had roots going back into the seventeenth century. In his *Responsum* of 1660, Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro had defended the then very new institution of the *liberum veto* by arguing that giving every envoy to the *Sejm* the right to block legislation prevented the king from using patronage to suborn a majority and subject the *Sejm* to his will.

³⁰ The precise date is disputed, with Józef Gierowski dating this text to 1703, whereas Staszewski opts for 1701. For more detail on this debate see Staszewski, "Pomysły reformatorskie," p. 741.

rivalries among the greatest of the *szlachta* as they competed bitterly for royal patronage.³¹ The result was the “*nierzqd*” (“anarchy/disorder”) that threatened to ruin the Commonwealth and destroy the *szlachta*’s liberty. Karwicky’s solution was therefore a complete overhaul of the system of distributing public offices, with all ministers, senators and other officials being elected by the *szlachta*, either centrally in the *Sejm* or else regionally in the *sejmiki* depending on the particular office in question, rather than their being appointed by the king.³² Thus service to the Republic would be rewarded rather than toadying to the king, and so virtue and good government would be encouraged.

In both Britain and Poland-Lithuania, therefore, there was a difference of opinion between those theorists and politicians who held that virtue was the precondition for liberty and good government, which would simply collapse in virtue’s absence, and those who held that government itself could foster virtue among the citizens if only it were properly constituted. In both countries, this latter group therefore sought to make institutional changes to guard against the threat posed to both liberty and virtue by royal corruption. Two important differences can be found in British and Polish-Lithuanian attitudes to virtue, differences that can probably be ascribed to the different circumstances in which republicans in both countries found themselves and their states. The first main difference is that British republicanism was much more militarily assertive in this period than that of Poland-Lithuania. The neo-Harringtonians of the early eighteenth century were keen to point out that one part of the virtue that they sought to recapture was martial prowess. Noting the military successes of the Roman Republic, they made the ability to fight wars into a key test of the value of any constitution, with Sidney claiming that, “all governments deserve praise or blame as they are well or ill constituted for making war.”³³ Harrington too looked forward to a future in which the free state of Oceana might send forth her armies to go and liberate the rest of the world.³⁴ The British republicans were therefore consciously attempting to build a state equipped for war.

³¹ Karwicky, “De Ordinanda Republica,” in *Dzieła polityczne z początku XVIII wieku*, pp. 125ff.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 130ff.

³³ Quoted in Worden “Republicanism and the Restoration,” p. 168.

³⁴ Worden, “Harrington and ‘The Commonwealth of Oceana,’” p. 102.

In Poland-Lithuania, by contrast, this military aspect to virtue is less apparent. Karwicki noted in passing that republics that lost their liberty tended to lose their military prowess too,³⁵ and Lubomirski also claimed that justice at home would make a state's armies more formidable.³⁶ Yet beyond this, apart from a call in the *Eclipsis Poloniae* of 1709 for Poland to go to war with the Ottoman Empire in part in order to strengthen the *szlachta's* martial spirit and bind them more closely together,³⁷ there were few open calls for more military virtue to be encouraged among the *szlachta*. On the contrary, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the overwhelming majority of the *szlachta* were desperate for peace above all else.³⁸ Their criticism of August II was not that he was a military failure, which he was, but rather that he had started wars which the *szlachta* had not sought and had not consented to, and so had brought the huge hardships of the Great Northern War upon a country that sought only peace and tranquillity. Similarly, Polish republicans were much less keen than their British counterparts on internal disorder—although Lubomirski was prepared to speak up for a degree of civil strife, arguing that a dead calm is as bad for a navigator as a storm.³⁹ The argument was not repeated by his contemporaries. In a period of bitter factional dispute and even outright civil war, *szlachta* rhetoric was rather dominated by calls for union around a common interest, in other words for a more harmonious vision of republican virtue.⁴⁰

In both countries, therefore, republicans can be seen to have held strikingly similar views on the issues of liberty, virtue and corruption, and it is on the basis of these similarities that comparisons between the republican ideas of Britain and Poland-Lithuania have been made.

³⁵ Karwicki, "De Ordinanda Republica," in *Dzieła polityczne z początku XVIII wieku*, p. 100.

³⁶ Lubomirski, *De Vanitate Consiliorum*, p. 135.

³⁷ Candidus Veronensis [pseudonym, attributed to Stanisław Szczuka (but this is disputed. See Staszewski, "Pomysły reformatorskie," on this debate)]. Szczuka, *Eclipsis Poloniae Orbi Publico Demonstrata*, pp. 125–27.

³⁸ Gierowski, *Miedzy saskim absolutyzmem*, p. 94.

³⁹ Lubomirski, *De Vanitate Consiliorum*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ For examples of pamphlets denouncing factions and calling for unity behind the common good, see "Smętna Mowa Strapionej Ojczyzny," Bibl Czart MS 1682ff. 119–37; or "Dyskurs z Szlachcicem Senatora . . .," Bibl Czart MS 3599; also "Przestroga generalna stanów Rzeczypospolitej z docieczony na zgubę wolności u dworu rad," reproduced in Gierowski, *Rzeczpospolita w dobie upadku*, pp. 197–210.

But to stop here would be to miss a further striking parallel in the ways that ideas of liberty and virtue combined in both countries with both imagined histories of the two nations and with religion to produce in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania narratives of ancient freedom that were at the same time almost identical in their content and yet mutually exclusive.

In both Britain and Poland-Lithuania, republicans constructed pseudo-histories of the world in which they claimed that at some point in the distant past, all nations lived in freedom, under some sort of primeval constitution, often termed ‘Gothic’ by British, or ‘Sarmatian’ by Polish commentators. However, over time, the nations of the world had one by one lost this ancient freedom, as monarchs established and consolidated their positions, gradually increasing their powers, as they assumed monarchs were always naturally inclined to do, and enslaving their peoples.⁴¹ As a result, only a few islands of liberty remained, with republicans in both states naturally putting their own countries at the top of the list of these fortunate places. In both countries, the survival of ancient institutions was the key to this version of history. Whig historians worked hard to try to prove the antiquity of Parliament, claiming that it pre-dated the monarchy, and that their kings had always therefore ruled by consent.⁴² The model of the mixed constitution, with a monarch ruling in agreement with Parliament was presented as being the basis of the “Gothic” form of government and the guarantee of the freedom of the subject.⁴³ By this account, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had been an act of reclamation of ancient liberties that had only recently been threatened by the despotism of James II, and not an assertion of newly discovered or invented rights and freedoms.

At the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this narrative of ancient freedom was given further support with the publication in 1694 of Robert Molesworth’s *An Account of Denmark*. This was a history of the establishment of absolutism in Denmark in 1660, presented as the result of the Danish nobility’s failure to fulfil their duties of service to the public interest, but above all of King Frederick’s possession of a

⁴¹ For British “Gothicism” see Kliger, *The Goths in England*, esp. pp. 7–33 and 112ff. For Polish myths about the history (and pre-history) of liberty, see Lukowski, “The Szlachta and their Ancestors,” and Greškowiak-Krwawicz, “Polish Views on European Monarchies,” p. 121.

⁴² Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, p. 35.

⁴³ *Ibidem*. See also Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, p. 59ff.

standing army with which to impose his will on the country. "Had the King not had an army at his command, the nobles had never delivered up their government," Molesworth wrote.⁴⁴ In this account of the Danish king's coup, Molesworth described it as one more example of a general pattern in which Gothic liberty was lost in country after country across Europe. In spotting this pattern, Molesworth was following Sidney, with whom he also agreed in ascribing to the Goths rather than the ancient Romans the introduction of a form of government that guaranteed liberty like no other.⁴⁵ The *Account of Denmark* was therefore an explicitly cautionary tale, warning the English of the threat to their supposedly ancient liberty.

In Poland-Lithuania, a similar attempt was made to present the *szlachta's* freedom as an ancient inheritance that had, as Lukowski notes, no foundation date or "Year Zero." Admittedly, *szlachta* stories of Poland's⁴⁶ past did also tend to include a pre-history in which kings enjoyed absolute power before graciously conceding power to the virtuous nobility in return for its services. But the image of monarchy that emerges from these stories is far from the *szlachta's* vision of contemporary absolutism with both the nobles and the kings of the days of yore being so wonderfully virtuous. The arcadia of this distant past that the *szlachta* imagined was so imbued with the spirit of harmony between monarch and people as to have been effectively a mixed constitution. Further, the *szlachta* were so adept at asserting the antiquity of treasured features of the constitution, most obviously the *liberum veto* which was in fact only first used as recently as 1652, that contradictions in the precise details of their history do not seem to have troubled them very greatly.⁴⁷

Republicans in both countries, therefore, claimed to be unique inheritors of an ancient liberty that they alone, or almost alone, had managed to preserve. For the story to be complete, however, an explanation was needed for why their own country had been so fortunate in preserving that liberty, and in both countries this problem was answered by recourse to Divine Providence. The English in their account, or the

⁴⁴ Quoted in Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, p. 102.

⁴⁵ Worden, "Republicanism and the Restoration," p. 176.

⁴⁶ The *szlachta's* liberty was invariably portrayed as the product of a Polish evolution, which Lithuania then received after the personal and then political unions between Poland and the Grand Duchy. So the history of *szlachta* freedom was seen as exclusively Polish in origin.

⁴⁷ Lukowski, "The Szlachta and their Ancestors," pp. 161–66.

szlachta in theirs, had, republicans claimed, kept their liberty as the result of being uniquely favoured by God for their piety and adherence to the true faith. In Britain, the idea of the English as the new Israel can be seen dating back to the seventeenth century, as fears of Charles I's tyrannical ambitions and secret promotion of Roman Catholicism combined to inspire opposition to his rule culminating finally in the outbreak of civil war. The association between the retention of political liberty and the defence of the Protestant faith was further strengthened in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as Whigs saw the same threat reappearing in the reign of the Roman Catholic James II, and continuing to be posed after 1688 by the hostile alliance of Jacobite supporters of the House of Stuart and the absolutist France of Louis XIV.

In Poland-Lithuania, a similar connection between liberty and true religion was also being made in the early eighteenth century. Lukowski has pointed out that, "true Polish freedom required that its practitioners should be [Roman] Catholic,"⁴⁸ and this idea can be seen expressed in the specific political disputes of the early eighteenth century. When complaining about the presence of Saxon troops in the Republic, one charge that was repeatedly levelled against the Saxons by *szlachta* pamphleteers was that the Lutheran Saxons⁴⁹ were destroying churches and church property.⁵⁰ When *szlachta* anger at the Saxon occupation exploded in the Confederation of Tarnogród, the first of the specific demands that the confederates made when presenting their terms for a treaty with the king was for the Saxons to pay compensation for damage to church property.⁵¹ The proclamations of the Confederation similarly invariably describe its aims as being the defence of the Roman Catholic Faith and of the *szlachta*'s liberty.⁵² Further, in a pamphlet of 1713 or

⁴⁸ Lukowski, "Political Ideas Among the Polish Nobility," p. 6.

⁴⁹ Staszewski, *August II Mocny*, p. 89, has pointed out that the Saxon army was actually Saxon only in name, being largely made up of mercenaries from all across Europe. It may well therefore have included significant numbers of Catholic soldiers within its ranks. *Szlachta* writers, however, appear to have been content to ignore such subtleties, and to describe the whole army as one of Lutheran Germans.

⁵⁰ Such complaints can be seen in such manifestos as "*Causa statuum confoederatorum...*" (Bibl Czart MS 203ff. 759–764), in a manifesto by the Tarnogród Confederation of June, 1716 (Bibl Czart MS 580ff. 70–75) and most famously in the printed pamphlet of 1712, *Krzywda nad wszystkie krzywdy*.

⁵¹ *Kondycye powtornie*, AGAD Archiwum Radziwiłłów dz. II bk. 36 p. 104.

⁵² For example, proclamations of the Crown army confederation, 1st October, 1715 (Bibl Czart MS 548ff. 1–4), of the Tarnogród Confederation, 16th November, 1715

1714, *Przestroga generalna stanów Rzeczypospolitej z docieczonej na zgubę wolności u dworu rad* (*General warning to the estates of the Commonwealth from research into the death of freedom in the councils of the court*), the link between the threats to liberty and faith is made explicit through the use of another example drawn from Scandinavia. That was the establishment of absolutist monarchy in Sweden by Gustav Vasa in the early sixteenth century. The *Przestroga* warns of the link between “*odmiana wiary et despoticum imperium*” (a change in faith and despotic government), referring its readers to a work of 1701 in which the story of the Swedish revolution is recounted in detail.⁵³

This work, possibly attributable to Franciszek Poniński,⁵⁴ is an account of the history of Sweden from the earliest beginnings of the Swedish state up to Gustav Vasa’s establishment of absolutist monarchy, to which is then added a much shorter account of the Danish ‘revolution’ of 1660. This work begins with a portrait of the ancient constitution of Sweden, described as having institutions remarkably similar to those of Poland-Lithuania, in which virtuous kings governed wisely, while occasional bad ones were swiftly deposed by their subjects.⁵⁵ According to this account, Sweden remained largely unchanged in this state until the arrival on the throne of Gustav Vasa, portrayed as a sinister, scheming figure looking for any available means of increasing his power at the expense of his subjects’ liberty. Spurred on by devious, ambitious advisers, most notably his Chancellor, Anderson, a closet Lutheran and sworn enemy of the Roman Catholic Church, Gustav first undermined the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden by secretly encouraging the Lutheran ‘heresy’, and finally by seizing the church’s property on the pretext of needing ecclesiastical wealth to maintain the army that was vital to Sweden’s defence. Gustav then used this army to crack down on all his opponents, forcing leading Roman Catholics into exile, and finally revealing himself as the Lutheran that the book claimed he was all along. Once Roman Catholicism had been stamped out in Sweden,

(Bibl Czart MS 546ff. 398–413), and of the Lithuanian Confederation, 23rd March, 1716 (printed *Konfederacya Generalna*).

⁵³ “Przestroga generalna” reproduced in Gierowski, *Rzeczpospolita w dobie upadku*, pp. 197–210. The reference to the Swedish revolution comes on p. 198.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 198n.

⁵⁵ Poniński, *Historja o Rewolucyi*, pp. 3f. The similarity between this imagined ancient Sweden and Poland-Lithuania is increased by the fact that the text uses Polish terms for institutions and offices throughout. So the Swedish parliament is a “*Sejm*,” royal lands are “*starostwa*” and so on.

the book then recounts that it was a simple matter for Gustav to pack a parliament with his own corrupt creatures and have it vote to make the Swedish throne absolute and hereditary in the Vasa family. So the Swedes' liberty was lost, a story which the book explicitly describes as a cautionary tale for all free commonwealths.⁵⁶ A short final account then follows of a similar revolution in Denmark, in which royal control of an army and bribes paid to members of the nobility lead to the Danish free state being swept away in just four days, another cautionary tale against monarchist plots.⁵⁷

Republicans in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania, therefore, were constructing similar narratives of ancient liberty, claiming in both countries that all nations had once lived in freedom, but that over time monarchs had progressively eroded the liberty of nation after nation. In each country, republicans believed that their nation had, as a result of special Divine favour that they had earned through strict adherence to the true faith, retained its liberty. This providential explanation for both Britain and Poland-Lithuania's success in maintaining their freedom is one feature that makes the republicanism of these two countries so strikingly similar; yet this is paradoxically a similarity whose implications render the republican narratives of the two countries incompatible with one another.

For logically there can only be one Chosen People. If a republican argument is based on the premise that one nation has uniquely succeeded in preserving its ancient liberty as a result of special favour shown by God to that nation, then acknowledging that any other nation might also still be free becomes rather difficult. Further, acknowledging that another nation is also free becomes even more problematic when that nation does not even adhere to the same True Faith, but rather follows the false heresy that has angered God and so led all the other nations into tyranny and despotism. Perhaps it should therefore come as no surprise that republicans in Britain and Poland-Lithuania were reluctant, despite the similarities in their political institutions and cultures, to admit that the other state was properly free. Polish writers tended to compare their constitution more with that of ancient Rome

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 260–70. The intention of writing a cautionary tale for the *szlachta* is also repeated in the work's preface.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*. Although bound together with the account of the Swedish revolution, the pages of the account of the Danish coup are numbered separately. The warning to other commonwealths comes on p. 5.

or contemporary Venice,⁵⁸ and apart from the circle of reformists in the later eighteenth century who used the British constitution as a model,⁵⁹ the general eighteenth-century Polish view of England⁶⁰ was of a formerly free state in which royal patronage had succeeded in buying majorities in Parliament and thus effectively giving the monarch the power to rule alone.⁶¹

English views of Poland-Lithuania were even less complimentary.⁶² The most substantial source of information available to English readers about Poland-Lithuania was the *History of Poland* published by the well-travelled Irish doctor who had visited Poland in the 1690s, at one point serving as personal physician to King Jan III Sobieski, Bernard Connor, in 1698. Connor states early in this work that his purpose in describing Polish institutions is so that his reader “might more sensibly perceive the Excellency of our Own Constitution,”⁶³ and the picture he produced of Poland, and of Polish liberty, is distinctly negative. Connor’s description of Poland-Lithuania was of a country in which only the few enjoy freedom, and he devoted an entire chapter to the “Power of the Gentry, and Slavery of the Commonality,” in which the peasantry are repeatedly described as the *szlachta*’s “slaves” who lack all rights in law, and can even be killed by their masters without having any redress in law.⁶⁴ Elsewhere, Connor commented that the peasants “have no Benefit of the Laws...no more than our Negroes in the West-Indies.”⁶⁵ This view of Poland as a despotism of the *szlachta* was taken up by republican writers in early eighteenth-century Britain. In the few mentions that Poland-Lithuania received in *Cato’s Letters*, it was not presented as a properly free state. Although Trenchard and Gordon did admit in passing that in Poland-Lithuania a few did enjoy liberty,

⁵⁸ Greškowiak-Krwawicz, “Polish Views on European Monarchies,” p. 117.

⁵⁹ Butterwick, *Poland’s Last King*.

⁶⁰ Of course, Great Britain after 1707, but usually still referred to by Polish writers as “*Anglia*.”

⁶¹ Rostworowski, “Republikanizm polski i anglosaski,” p. 97.

⁶² Scottish writers, particularly during the debate about the Union with England, could sometimes be more positive about Poland and its government.

⁶³ Connor, *The History of Poland*, II, p. 2. On his coming to England in 1695, Connor seems to have attempted to Anglicise himself as thoroughly as possible, converting to Anglicanism and changing his name from O’Connor to Connor. Suspicions, however, continued to surround him, perhaps leading him to feel the need to make conspicuous shows of loyalty to the British Crown. For more on Connor see Dalitz and Stone, “Doctor Bernard Connor,” pp. 14–35.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, II, p. 168.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, II, p. 5.

they emphasised most of all that “all the rest are slaves”⁶⁶ in a land of mediaeval backwardness where “nothing can be more miserable than the condition of the peasants, who are subject to the mere mercy of the great lords, as to life and death and property.”⁶⁷ British republicans were not prepared to acknowledge the *szlachta* alone as the political nation whose freedom had to be guaranteed by the Commonwealth republican constitution. Lacking a comparable division of society into estates, British commentators seem to have taken for granted that all of the population needed to be included in the citizenry, at least in theory. Furthermore, the negative image of Poland-Lithuania in Britain was only heightened after the events of 1724 in the city of Toruń⁶⁸ led to Poland-Lithuania being roundly condemned in Britain and elsewhere as a land of Roman Catholic backwardness and bigotry.

The conviction held by republicans in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania, that they were a Chosen People uniquely selected by Divine Providence to retain their liberty, therefore, made it extremely hard for either of them to view the other country in anything other than a negative light, and made it very hard for them to admit that the ideas to which they subscribed were so similar. Yet not only were the individual concepts of liberty, virtue and corruption espoused by republicans in both Britain and Poland-Lithuania strikingly similar, but also in both countries they were brought together in almost identical narratives describing ancient liberty, its loss by almost every nation and yet its providential retention by God’s Chosen People. Ironically, it was this very similarity that made any exchange of ideas between the two republican traditions almost impossible. It was the very point of comparison between the republican ideas of Britain and Poland-Lithuania that made contact between them so difficult.

⁶⁶ Trenchard and Gordon, *Cato’s Letters*, Letter 67, p. 473.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, Letter 68, p. 488.

⁶⁸ Following riots that started amid a Roman Catholic religious procession, a Protestant mob attacked and destroyed the city’s Jesuit college. The all Protestant urban authorities were denounced by the *szlachta* for abetting the disturbances, and two council members along with a dozen rioters were condemned to death, ten being publicly beheaded in December, 1724, by the Republic’s courts. See also Cieszyńska in this volume.

RELIGION AND TOLERATION

COROLLARIES OF COMMERCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND GDAŃSK IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

John D. Fudge

Mercantile accords, shipping patterns, and commodity structures offer a valuable though far from complete picture of relations between Gdańsk (Danzig) and England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Long-distance trade also made possible a range of interpersonal contacts. Although they are not quantifiable for the most part, some of the consequences of social and commercial interaction nevertheless help nuance an understanding of interregional communications and continuity. Going beyond traditional boundaries of political economy these contacts help in describing broader conceptions of bilateral exchange.

Late medieval Anglo-Baltic trade was heavily concentrated at Gdańsk and for many decades prior to the mid-sixteenth century English ships that cleared the Sound seldom called at any other Baltic port. From the island kingdom came rabbit skins, lead, and many types of woollen textiles. Gdańsk was a transshipment point for iron, flax, and furs from Sweden and the eastern Teutonic lands, but above all exported grain and forest products that originated in the hinterlands of Prussia and Poland. Gdańskers were middlemen in this trade and in the distribution of English cloth as well. They strove to remain so, to the exclusion of all non-denizen competitors. The Teutonic Order was complicit in insulating Gdańsk's merchants. Within the town mercantile contact between foreign and non-denizen guests was restricted. When Royal Prussia became part of the Polish-Lithuanian domain in 1466 Gdańsk achieved autonomy in trade matters and immediately invoked its own protectionist laws. The English were repeatedly denied special concessions and, like other outsiders, prohibited from bargaining directly with non-denizens.¹ By contrast, Gdańskers came to England as privileged

¹ *Akten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, 1, pp. 384, 434, 484, 506–507, 513; 2, pp. 50, 140, 4, pp. 557–62. This is not to say that Englishmen were prevented from travelling outside Gdańsk. They also did business at nearby Elbląg (Elbing) and in 1519 English merchants resident in Gdańsk were robbed as

Hanseatic merchants. In contemporary parlance they were, along with their cousins from other Baltic and North Sea ports, *Esterlings*. They paid lower customs rates than other aliens and were entitled to stay at the Hanse's dwelling and warehouse complex, the London Steelyard. After 1475 they had a similar facility in East Anglia at the port of Lynn.

In the late fourteenth century and on into the fifteenth English traders in the Baltic were authorised by their kings to elect governors and abide as a fellowship or company. Early regulations speak of young apprentices coming to Prussia "for lernynge of merchandise." Until 1449, when piracy, war, and political crises began to disrupt commerce for long periods, numerous Englishmen were at least semi-permanent residents of Gdańsk. Grimsby merchant Robert Godebarne acquired tenements there and it is unlikely he was the only one. As the fifteenth century drew to a close the English were clamouring for a house of their own in Gdańsk. Whether they had ever possessed one prior to this was a matter of some debate.² In any case, business still brought them to Prussia, and Gdańskers to England. Some results of this contact were predictable, intended, and even vital to regional and urban prosperity. Others were unplanned or inadvertent, yet perhaps no less significant.

For investigation of residual elements of commercial exchange a useful if unlikely starting point is the autobiography of an early fifteenth-century English mystic, Margery Kempe.³ A tale of many tears and much travel, Margery's narrative says remarkably little about her children. The single exception is a son, who initially travelled overseas as the apprentice of a merchant in Lynn and later, apparently, as an independent trader. Business took him to Gdańsk, and it was during his lengthy stay there that he met the woman he eventually married. Margery offers no details of this courtship and marriage, but does say that by the time the couple visited England they were parents of a young daughter, who was left behind with friends in Gdańsk. It turned out to be the briefest of homecomings for Margery's son. Soon after arriving in Lynn he became gravely ill and died. His widow remained

they returned from a trip to Livonia. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p. 333; SRP, 6, pp. 182–83.

² CPR, 1401–1405: p. 394; CPR, 1422–1429, p. 488; *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp. 278–89, 332–33; Gillet, *A History of Grimsby*, p. 22. In 1499 the English claimed to have possessed a house previously. Gdańsk replied that no one had any recollection of such a place. HR, 3rd series, 4, p. 165.

³ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 161–74.

in England for the next year and a half, all the while staying in touch with people in Gdańsk, who urged her to return. When eventually she did go back, her mother-in-law went with her. The skipper of a Hanseatic vessel about to leave from Ipswich agreed to take them, and according to Margery no one aboard objected. Early in the voyage storms forced the ship to the Norwegian coast. Eventually, though, the intrepid travellers reached Gdańsk, where many people turned out to welcome them.⁴

This odyssey is very much one of interpersonal contact and communication. Merchant ships sailing between England and Gdańsk carried passengers as well as cargo. People in Gdańsk kept Margery's daughter-in-law informed while she was away. Letters too were carried on merchant ships. Thus, bilateral trade fostered travel and inter-regional communication over great distances. Beyond this, though, there are other suggestions of interaction. In Gdańsk restrictions on the business activity of foreigners did not extend to social conduct. Although the English may not have had a house there, master Kempe stayed for long periods. Inevitably he and others like him were drawn into day-to-day contact with ordinary citizens. They acquainted themselves with local women. In Kempe's case a lasting relationship developed. A significant cultural or linguistic divide is not apparent. Instead, the story infers cultural continuity.

A century after Margery Kempe's son found a wife in Gdańsk apparently little had changed. The town still regulated business contacts but otherwise English guests were free to associate. A long stay, as before, was not required in order for liaisons to occur. In 1526 the English merchant ship *Anne Clerke* made the voyage from London to Gdańsk. The two men heading the venture were Roger Bothyford and William Boker. The vessel's pilot was Hugh Sergeant, whose recorded version of events provides details of what happened.⁵ By the time the *Anne Clerke*

⁴ The warm welcome Margery Kempe received in Gdańsk caused her to consider staying longer. But after six weeks she set out for England, resolving to go overland and thus avoid another perilous sea voyage. This was potentially dangerous too because it meant travel through lands of the Teutonic Order, then threatened by Poland. She found someone willing to accompany her west to the pilgrim shrine at Wilsnack but had difficulty gaining the Order's permission to leave. In the end, a merchant from Lynn heard of her predicament and through his "great labour" permission was arranged. Margery's journey began aboard a coasting vessel that took her to Stralsund in Pomerania. From there she and her companion went by land to Wilsnack and then trekked to Aachen and Calais.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Addenda*, 1, no. 525.

was freighted and ready to return to England Boker had, in Sergeant's words, "incompanyd hym self with a semyll woman so ferr" that he intended to take her along. He had her clothing and coffer brought to the ship but the navigator, for reasons left unexplained, adamantly refused to stay aboard if she came. Boker, for his part, was equally determined not to leave her. What onlookers and crewmen made of this impromptu dockside drama may only be guessed. In the end, Bothyford's solution was to give the order to set sail, leaving both the smitten Englishman and his woman behind in Gdańsk. Sergeant does not say if the two found lasting happiness. Understandably, he was far more concerned with the inevitable litigation.

To bring the vixens of Gdańsk into slightly sharper focus requires some reading between the lines. Hugh Sergeant did not want Boker's friend aboard the *Anne Clerke* yet he stopped short of disparaging her personally, aside from saying that she was a simple woman. It cannot be inferred that she was disreputable or that Boker had become infatuated with some sort of social outcast, and while business brought him to Gdańsk, his new acquaintance need not have been connected to commerce. They could have met under any number of circumstances. Regrettably, Margery Kempe is likewise silent about her daughter-in-law's background. She was impressed by the hospitality of Gdańskers, and it is fair to assume that these included some of the daughter-in-law's friends and perhaps her relatives. Ongoing communication with the young widow while she was in England implies a literate support network. That people in Gdańsk were trusted to look after the infant daughter also suggests communal acceptance, not to say master Kempe's assimilation into his wife's milieu. He was a pious man. The woman he chose to marry was someone of good character. He did not find her on the margins of Gdańsk society. Undoubtedly, though, other kinds of relationships were also possible. Complaints about Englishmen around 1440, not long after Kempe married, included standard concerns that they bargained with other non-denizens and kept cellars open all day, but also an accusation that they mingled with local women of dubious repute. These female companions, it was alleged, went about town better attired than their respectable married counterparts.⁶ Evidently some English visitors paid well for companionship and treated their consorts very generously. In doing so they contributed to the local economy in ways impossible to record in any port book or official ledger.

⁶ *Akten*, 2, p. 140.

While foreigners involved themselves to varying degrees with Gdańsk women, thus suggesting a rather unconfined scope of contact, likewise non-denizens in England were not always occupied with mundane business affairs. Self-imposed regulations governed Steelyard residents. They were not supposed to associate with prostitutes, for example. However, daily routines brought them into urban neighbourhoods and a variety of social settings. A late fifteenth-century appeal to the royal chancery tells of *Esterling* Nicholas Sear entering into a marriage agreement with a young woman in London. When someone challenged the contract and had Sear detained by the local sheriffs, the Steelyard fellowship offered tangible fraternal support including sureties to the amount of £1,000 sterling. Social behaviour of a far less dignified nature comes to light in another case from this period, confirming that the Hanse's waterfront compound was not quite the cloister that the regulations might suggest. A Hanseatic merchant became so annoyed at the unwelcome and persistent advances of a London harlot that he had a servant strike her. The woman's master then proceeded to sue him for trespass. The incident took place within the Steelyard.⁷ Such examples demonstrate that not all contact unrelated to commerce was harmonious. Indeed in 1490 a Hanseatic merchant was murdered in London and a few years later the Steelyard was the site of a serious riot.⁸ Legal and diplomatic sources document many specific instances of friction between Gdańskers and Englishmen, typically stemming from debt, economic rivalry, or piracy. Gdańsk's privateers were leading protagonists in the Anglo-Hanseatic War of the early 1470s, a source of lingering bitterness in England. Still bilateral trade relations could not have endured without friendships both professional and personal, without trust nurtured through social contact. Worthwhile exploring, then, is another possible corollary: the informal transmission of influential ideas.

In the winter of 1526 a clerical tribunal in London assigned public penance to five Steelyard merchants accused of Lutheranism.⁹ Evidence against some of the men appears to have been rather tenuous. One was arrested for fraud but knew his friends read reform literature. Gdańsker Henry Pryknes confessed that a ship's purser gave him a pamphlet

⁷ Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*, pp. 221–22; PRO, C 1 67/199.

⁸ Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*, p. 95.

⁹ *Letters and Papers*, 4 (1), no. 1962; Pauli, "Das Verfahren," pp. 167–72. English Church officials proscribed works by Luther and his followers in May, 1521.

containing the Lord's Prayer. Another man found a book by Luther in a deceased colleague's room.¹⁰ But others had deeper interests. Helbert Bellendorpe owned copies of Luther's *De Captivitate* and his address to the Teutonic Order.¹¹ In Germany the previous summer he had acquired more books by Luther, and another by Andreas Karlstadt. He then lent them to associates, including Hans Reussel, who also read Scripture translations. The investigation of these Steelyard Lutherans was connected to the Reformation in Gdańsk. Several of the town's patrician oligarchs had been forced from public office early in 1525 and a new council had charted political and religious reform. Eventually the Polish crown stepped in. Sigismund I arrived with a military retinue in April, 1526, and stayed for several weeks. Many former councillors were restored, and Lutherans banished.¹² That was not all. The king was also persuaded to intervene on behalf of three Gdańsk merchants barred from England because of the Steelyard heresy. One was Georg Telight, who allegedly borrowed Bellendorpe's Karlstadt pamphlet but was not in London when the arrests occurred. Sigismund was assured by several Gdańsk citizens, including a newly reinstated councilman, that none of the three was Lutheran. The king duly addressed letters to his English counterpart, Henry VIII, requesting that the merchants be allowed to resume their business in England.¹³

All eight of the arraigned or accused men were *Esterlings* from North Sea and Baltic ports, where Lutheran reform had much early success. Half were Gdańskers and two more might have been. Hans Reussel was born in "Estlande." This was a very imprecise term in contemporary English usage.¹⁴ He may have come from Gdańsk or as far off as the Livonian lands of the Teutonic Order. Regardless, while in his

¹⁰ Books identified by the merchants were printed in German but titles and descriptions were Latinised in the official record. Pryknes had been given "*unam librum in Teutonico... in quo libro intitulatur opera quedam Martini Lutheri*".

¹¹ *Von der Baylonischen gefengknuff der Kirchen* [*De Captivitate*] and "*De Castitate*," presumably *An die herrn Deutschs Ordens das sie falsche keuscheyt meyden und zur rechten ehlichen keuscheyt greiffen Ermanung* (Exhortation to the Knights of the Teutonic Order that they lay aside False Chastity and assume the True Chastity of Wedlock).

¹² Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 127–30; *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte*, 2, nos. 478–85, 505; SRP, 5, pp. 544–77; 6, 275–80.

¹³ *Letters and Papers*, 4 (1), nos. 2168–70, 2179; Toeppen, "Brief Sigismunds I," pp. 297–98; Pauli, "Die Stahlhofskaufleute," pp. 158–62.

¹⁴ The 1497 statute of England's Merchant Adventurers, for example, distinguishes "Danske" [Gdańsk] from "Estlond". *The Merchant Adventurers*, p. 204. On the other hand, a document pertaining to Norwich merchants in the 1520s speaks of a ship freighted at "Dansik in Estlond." *Letters and Papers, Addenda*, 1, no. 625.

homeland in 1524 he had read Luther's *De Libertate*¹⁵ and listened to anti-papal sermons. Bellendorpe owned a copy of Luther's call for the secularisation of the Order. Both the idea and the new reality in Prussia would have been especially topical in eastern Baltic ports.¹⁶

The Steelyard merchants read German imprints and did not distribute them beyond the compound. Even so, for Henry VIII the notion that outsiders sowed religious dissent remained convenient for some time. In 1530 he would point accusingly not to English Lollards or fugitives, but to *Esterlings* and the books they brought into England, adding that Gdańsk was again Lutheran despite Sigismund's best efforts.¹⁷ In fact neither monarch diligently suppressed novelty in the 1520s. Censorship and heresy trials in England were Church prerogatives. London's printing houses toed an orthodox line, but eventually reform-minded exiles inundated the kingdom with books produced in Antwerp. Still, it was not until his divorce troubles that Henry blurred the boundaries of heresy and treason and began issuing royal censorship edicts.¹⁸ Sigismund reacted earlier, but was scarcely more effective. Imported books that his bishops and university theologians found heretical were banned in 1520. There was another royal decree against Luther following the Edict of Worms. In 1523 the university rectors in Kraków were empowered to proscribe anything. The town's three presses were not cause for concern but controversial books from Germany were. Diocesan courts prosecuted occasionally, however enforcement of the royal decrees was not rigorous.¹⁹

Sigismund's only meaningful intervention came in Gdańsk, where religious discord contributed to the erosion of political and social order.²⁰ There had been many portents. Evangelical *Sturmprediger*

¹⁵ *Von der freyheyte eynes Christen menchen* [*De Libertate*].

¹⁶ Ellendorpe's home was Hamburg and Holt was from Bremen. Pauli, "Die Stahlhofskaufleute," pp. 155–62; HR, 4th series, 2, p. 524; Postel, *Die Reformation*, p. 183; Friedland, "Hamburger Englandfahrer 1512–1557," p. 19. A Steelyard communiqué to Lübeck, dated 1 March, identifies Bellendorpe as a Cologner. A second, sent to Cologne two days later, does not. Kronenberg, "A Printed Letter," pp. 25–32, did not doubt he was a Cologner. However, there were other textual changes in the second missive, and it seems likely that in the case of Bellendorpe's identity it simply corrected the earlier letter to Lübeck. HR, 3rd series, 9, no. 260. Lutherans were unwelcome in both towns.

¹⁷ *Calendar of State Papers—Spain*, 4 (1), nos. 460, 481, 492.

¹⁸ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 1, pp. 181–86, 193–97.

¹⁹ Bacewiczowa and Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, I (1), esp. pp. 44–62, 299–313, 325–52; Schmidt, *Auf Felsen gesät*, pp. 37–44.

²⁰ Cieślak and Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, pp. 122–27; Musteikis, *The Reformation in*

(Storm preachers) ridiculed monks and priests. Despite warnings from Sigismund and the bishop of Włocławek (Leslau), town officials ignored the circulation of Lutheran books. Gdańskers studying in Wittenberg were imbued with Luther's views. Among the returning sons was Jacob Hegge, whose criticism of sacraments and monastic orders drew large receptive crowds.²¹ Controversy was also publicised in the 1522 carnival play, staged by young merchants at the main trade hall. It mocked the pope.²² Especially among non-patricians anticlericalism and calls for evangelical reform dovetailed with impulses for social and political change. Ultimately a radicalised faction emerged and deposed most of the old council.²³ Sigismund's intervention dealt Protestant reform in Gdańsk a temporary setback. Already, though, dissent and criticism of the Roman church had taken many forms, from pamphlets to sermons and theatrical satires. Gdańsk's commercial status meant the audience was potentially large and particularly capable of aiding wider dissemination. It would have included denizens, foreign merchants, and crews from hundreds of ships that came to the port each year.

Against this backdrop perhaps it is not surprising that the Steelyard investigation turned up other traces of nonconformity besides books, albeit they seem to be as much Lollard as Lutheran. Bellendorpe doubted Christ's real presence in the consecrated host and no longer observed fasts. He ate meat on Fridays, once with sailors at the Steelyard and again in someone's chamber, settings obviously conducive to the exchange of ideas. On another fast day he and Reussel consumed meat in a private home with two English friends. Thus, trade between London and Gdańsk or "Estland" led to non-commercial contact between otherwise dispersed parties. Impersonal trading activity sometimes gave way to informal socialising. Meals were ideal occasions for dialogue, and the spoken word was crucial to mediating printed text.²⁴

Lithuania, p. 39; Tazbir, "Poland," pp. 168–70; Kawecka-Gryczowa and Tazbir, "The book and the Reformation," p. 410.

²¹ Arnold, "Luther und die Reformation," pp. 37–42 and Arnold, "Luther und Danzig," pp. 94–120. In 1523 the bishop of Włocławek complained that Lutheran imprints from Wittenberg were being delivered to St. Barbara's in Gdańsk. Civic authorities knew that one of the church's priests possessed some of Luther's works but refused the bishop's demand for his removal. SRP, 6, p. 275.

²² Arnold, "Luther und Danzig," p. 107; Scribner, "Reformation Carnival," pp. 236–37, 244–46, 257.

²³ Arnold, "Luther und die Reformation," pp. 37–42 and Arnold, "Luther und Danzig," pp. 94–120; SRP, 5, pp. 545–87; *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationgeschichte*, 1, nos. 135–143; 2, nos. 320–23, 335, 339, 351, 367.

²⁴ Scribner, "Oral Culture," p. 88.

One of the earliest specific examples of the informal transfer of religious innovation within mercantile networks involves a group of Englishmen who went abroad to acquire a grain cargo in 1528. Six weeks in Amsterdam and another five in Bremen undoubtedly exposed them to many reform novelties, including evangelical sermons and hymn singing.²⁵ They also ate meat on fish days. Once home they were not quiet about their experiences and one was soon under investigation for ignoring fasts. Even without a comparable Gdańsk example there is good reason to suppose this kind of inter-play occurred on a much larger scale, especially in light of the freedom of association strangers enjoyed in northern seaports. Consider for instance, that in the same year the grain traders from Hull encountered heterodoxy in Amsterdam and Bremen, close to five hundred merchant ships passed through the Sound. Two dozen were English vessels making the return voyage to Gdańsk. Ten times that many, also trading to the eastern Baltic, were from ports in the Low Countries.²⁶ It is not difficult to imagine itinerant or resident foreigners exchanging views with Gdańsk denizens, observing the impact of evangelical reform in the 1520s, and even absorbing some of its influences.

This is not to say that the citizens of Gdańsk were predominantly Lutheran already or that all Steelyard *Esterlings* were. Another Gdańsker in London throughout the 1520s was George Giese, brother of Tidemann. Tidemann Giese was a humanist friend of Copernicus and a future bishop of Ermeland. In 1525 he published *Antilogikon*, a polemic refutation of the Lutheran reformer Johann Brießmann.²⁷ The now famous portrait of George Giese in his Steelyard chamber, painted by Hans Holbein in the early 1530s, shows him holding a letter from his brother, imaginary yet symbolic of real family ties. There is no reason to suppose the two were not exchanging correspondence at

²⁵ Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, pp. 24–27; “Extracts from Lincoln Episcopal Visitations,” pp. 257–58.

²⁶ *Rigsarkivet* (Copenhagen), Øresunds toldregnskaber 1528; *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund 1497–1660* 1, p. 5. Bang listed aggregate passages together with the ships’ provenances. Assuming that most vessels actually navigated the Sound once in each direction, her totals have been halved to arrive at the approximate number of ships.

²⁷ Buck, *Hans Holbein*, pp. 88–95; Ganzer and Steimer, *Lexikon der Reformationszeit*, p. 285.

the time of the Steelyard scandal. George Giese's informed perspective of the religious controversy that triggered it might well have been quite different from that of his denounced associates. Regardless, the portrait is a reminder once again that commercial networks were necessarily networks of communication. Within and tangential to them, interpersonal contacts mirrored degrees of sociability. Thus an environment of opportunity for intellectual exchange existed which, within the context of sixteenth-century confessional development, could have profound repercussions.

While "trade" carried cargo, people, news, and perhaps even elements of sacramentarian heresy, corollaries far more insidious were also possible. Margery Kempe's merchant son fell ill almost immediately upon his return to England and did not recover. The cause of his death will never be known but this sudden coincidence immediately raises the spectre of contagious disease. Pestilence features prominently in the late medieval chronicles of North Sea and Baltic towns. Gdańsk suffered epidemics in 1473 and again in the 1480s and 1494.²⁸ Maritime commerce undoubtedly contributed to transmission, much as when the Black Death first arrived in Mediterranean ports.²⁹ In the summer of 1528 a deadly virus, the English sweat (*sudor anglicus*) struck London and spread across the Channel to the trade and communications hub of Calais.³⁰ The following August a Hanseatic vessel returning from England arrived in Hamburg with a dozen of its crew already dead from the sweating sickness.³¹ The infection then took its toll in Hamburg,

²⁸ SRP, 4, pp. 737; 5, 444–45; HU, 8, no. 126; Ibs, *Die Pest in Schleswig-Holstein*, pp. 80, 97, 117, 119.

²⁹ Ibs, *Die Pest in Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 97. If medieval harbour towns were especially vulnerable, the inherent difficulties of circumvallation may have been a contributing factor. Human dwellings and ships alike were open to invasion by small mammals that were potential reservoirs for contagion. Wylie and Collier, "The English sweating sickness," p. 437.

³⁰ *Letters and Papers*, 4 (2), nos. 4493, 4633. The English sweat likely began as a zoonosis, with the rat flea as host vector. A likely rodent reservoir was the black rat. The virus retreated to its animal host between epidemics and during the winter. Once the vector passed it to humans the disease spread through person-to-person contact and killed quickly, often within only a few hours. In all, England suffered five epidemics, the first in the summer of 1485. The only outbreak beyond England and Calais came in 1529. Dyer, "The English Sweating Sickness," pp. 383–84; Tavinor *et al.*, "The English Sweating Sickness," pp. 96–98; Wylie and Collier, "The English sweating sickness," pp. 425–45.

³¹ Hecker, *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, pp. 248–49. Since the most recent epidemic in England had already run its course by the time the disease reached Hamburg, Hecker suggested this was a separate and spontaneous outbreak. Wylie and Collier,

moved quickly to Bremen and Lübeck, and moved east to Prussia and Livonia. As many as three thousand people perished in Gdańsk. Among the victims of the 1529 epidemic was George Telight, one of the Steelyard heretics who had been banned from England. Another was the bishop of Pomerania, a principal voice and architect of change in Ducal Prussia, where several reform theologians were welcomed after Sigismund expelled them from Gdańsk.³²

Decades later, the grim shadow that the English sweat had cast in the eastern Baltic was still recalled in popular verse.³³ That the memory endured so long is something of a testimony to the resiliency of Gdańsk and other Baltic ports. They withstood this and many other subsequent calamities, as did London. For although contagion periodically skewed mortality rates other corollaries of trade helped ensure survival and growth through the creation of wealth. An essential life-sustaining residual of bilateral exchange at both ends of the England—Gdańsk trade axis was gainful employment.

Long-distance maritime transport demanded regular provisioning and refitting of merchantmen, and thus put money in the hands of purveyors, porters, tradesmen, and shipwrights. There was, as well, a degree of mutual dependence among mercantile and shipping interests. Skippers or owners unable to bear unexpected repair costs might turn to contacts within the wider business network. When the *Christopher* of Lynn had to be repaired in Gdańsk in 1479, for example, the owners borrowed money from local entrepreneur Tidemann Valand, someone with extensive trade interests in Lynn and London. Only a decade before, Valand had suffered substantial losses when merchants of the Hansa were arrested in England, more than enough incentive for him to finance privateers in the war that soon followed.³⁴

The exchange of commodities also employed people. Gdańsk was an important market for English cloth as well as a conduit for distribution

“The English sweating sickness,” p. 433, say it is “extremely improbable” that the mariners were infected in England. Instead, “they were incubating already the disease which they had contracted two to three weeks earlier, probably in north Germany.” However, this too seems highly conjectural, since the mariners’ whereabouts prior to their fatal voyage are unknown and there is no evidence of the disease in Germany prior to the ship’s arrival in Hamburg.

³² SRP, 6, p. 498; Jannasch, *Reformationsgeschichte Lübecks*, p. 255.

³³ “Kleine chronikalische,” pp. 393–408.

³⁴ PRO, C 1 32/356; Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*, pp. 72–73, 118, 225–26.

to Prussia and Poland. English customs records permit identification of the leading Steelyard merchants at the beginning of the 1490s and, based on estimated values of goods imported and exported, eight of the top sixteen were Gdańskers. Directly or otherwise, they employed textile workers in England, who suffered accordingly on occasions when shipping to the Baltic was interrupted.³⁵ Hanseatic merchants could buy wholesale from English manufacturers. In the 1480s some Bristol clothiers claimed to prefer doing business with *Esterlings* because, unlike Londoners, they purchased their cloth with cash.³⁶ While England's economy remained highly dependent on cloth exports, the mainstays of trade out of Gdańsk were cereals and unprocessed raw materials. Ships bound for English ports in the fifteenth century typically carried grain, wood, flax and hemp, iron, pitch, ashes, and bow-staves. No less common, though, were consignments of tankards, gloves, chests, "pruse platters," trenchers, and tables, that is finished wares manufactured in the artisan households of Gdańsk.³⁷

By the mid sixteenth century, if not long before, Gdańsk also produced naval supplies, and a main customer was the English crown. Henry VIII's conflicts with France and Scotland, particularly in the 1540s, required the expansion and refitting of his war fleet. Several new vessels were built and many English and Hanseatic merchantmen were pressed into royal service both as fighting ships and troop transports. Acquiring the timber, pitch, and cordage necessary for Henry's navy kept his agent in Gdańsk, William Watson, very busy. Hanseatic merchant vessels chartered by Watson and freighted with pitch, masts, yards, oars, and cables left there at the rate of one every month from June to October, 1545. There were more shipments the following May, when two of Gdańsk's great hulks headed for London fully laden. Watson made a detailed record of some of this business, starting in July, 1545.³⁸

The English agent in Gdańsk did not simply shop for hawsers and cables already made. He arranged and paid for their manufacture. He began by purchasing more than 4,000 stone (25,400 kilograms) of cable yarn from eight different local suppliers, then 51 lasts of tar from three others. When production started in August kettles for heating the tar

³⁵ Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*, pp. 113, 120, 220.

³⁶ *Acts of Court*, pp. 294–95.

³⁷ Fudge, *Cargoes, Embargoes, and Emissaries*, p. 217.

³⁸ PRO, SP 1/122ff 98–106; "Fudge Masts, Cordage and Iron Guns."

were leased by the day. Firewood was another expense. Then came the labour costs. One of Watson's servants, Jacob Fox, who took delivery of cable yarn, also oversaw the work and kept track of the wages owed. On some days as many as 56 labourers were making and tarring the cables. Some received extra pay for working "in the holle." In total Watson's expenditures for labour were only a fraction of what it cost to buy yarn and tar. Even so, in a few weeks in late summer, 1545, and spring, 1546, the manufacture of cordage for England's navy alone provided 1,128 man-days of employment in Gdańsk.

At this busy even hectic work site, blanketed in wood smoke and tar fumes, Gdańskers apparently toiled in the presence of an English overseer. Watson's account does not mention a broker or fixer to recruit workers, but gives the impression that he and his foreman hired and paid them directly. Henry VIII had written to Gdańsk's council in 1544, requesting them to help Watson procure materiel and shipping. The reply was favourable, though what form the co-operation may have taken is unknown. Civic authorities conceivably provided some logistical support for the cordage manufacture and transport. Certainly regulations about business between non-denizens still applied to Watson as much as to any other Englishman. Not long before this town magistrates had indicted him for bargaining directly with a Pole, and jailed him briefly when he balked at paying the prescribed fine. The episode draws into focus the potential legal vulnerability of merchants trading abroad within civic and sovereign jurisdictions. Unable to restrain his indignation, Watson complained bitterly to his king, urging retaliation against the Steelyard *Esterlings*.³⁹

Watson's business also says more about the presence of Englishmen in Gdańsk and their reliance on the local workforce. He placed experienced English navigators on the Hanseatic ships he chartered, and covered their living expenses while in port. He also paid for Jacob Fox's board for twenty weeks. Other servants were sent in 1546. Watson's brother Roger lived in Gdańsk as well, and was actively involved in the business affairs. Some operating capital was generated by the sale of English lead and woollen cloth, so in all the brothers were dealing directly with close to 30 local merchants. Aside from the dozens of day labourers put to work making cordage, additional support personnel and porters were hired to weigh yarn and bring tar from the "tarre

³⁹ PRO, STAC 2 30/2; *Letters and Papers*, 19 (1), no. 996.

hosse.” Still more manpower was required to lade the large transports with their heavy cargoes of oars by the long and short hundred, barrels of pitch, masts measuring up to 25 metres, and various lengths of cable, some 16 inches (40 centimetres) in circumference.⁴⁰ And in the span of less than a year William Watson’s transport needs also employed the masters and crews of eight large Hanseatic merchantmen. Much as England’s regional cloth industries flourished in part because of *Esterlings* and overseas consumer markets in Poland and Royal Prussia, the residual benefits of trade reached well beyond the mercantile sector in Gdańsk. Geographically and politically the port was far removed from Anglo-French hostilities. Nevertheless, the king of England’s costly wars, and specifically the requirements of his fighting fleet, contributed substantially to Gdańsk’s manufacturing economy. Coincidentally, they expanded the scope of direct contact between the working population and the town’s English guests.

William Watson was a successful entrepreneur, often transacting business in Gdańsk on his own account as well as the king’s. Throughout the later Middle Ages hundreds of merchants like him, both English and Hanseatic, relied on primary contacts with suppliers, shippers, and buyers. Establishing and maintaining these links could entail periodic travel, extended stays, or even temporary residency far from home. In these circumstances it was natural to forge less formal connections both within and outside business circles. Parallel to the trade networks that made them possible, webs of sociability opened up various other possibilities, from romance to intellectual exchange. That was the case long before the Watson brothers or Margery Kempe’s son set foot in Gdańsk or Lutheran heretics caroused with English friends on the Thames waterfront.

Situations evoked in a mystic’s life story, the confessions of accused heretics, and accounts compiled by a royal purchasing agent confirm the overall socio-economic cohesion of the North Sea and Baltic regions. As well they illustrate some of the multidimensional relationships between Gdańsk, its hinterland, and England. Unforeseen encounters between individuals might lead to lasting personal bonds that encouraged or required some degree of social and cultural integration. This in turn could not help but strengthen inter-regional continuity and communication. Beyond this, incidental intellectual contact could contribute to

⁴⁰ BL, Add. Ms. 5752 f29.

dissemination processes capable of affecting the lives of great numbers of people. A coalescence of Lollard and Lutheran views in the 1520s, for instance, conceivably reinforced Bible-based piety in England, if not confessional development in Gdańsk and Royal Prussia. Finally, trade-related employment of labour was fundamental to the generation of material wealth. Anglo-Baltic commerce fuelled industry and provided livelihoods, offsetting to some extent the demographic impact of natural calamities such as epidemics. The interpersonal contact that the integrated trade of England and Gdańsk encouraged likely was not limited to friendships and extended familial ties, heresy, and direct exploitation of labour. At the very least, though, not far from London's Steelyard quay and the docks of Gdańsk ample opportunities existed for shared spirituality and social assimilation.

WITCH-HUNTING IN ENGLAND AND POLAND: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Brian P. Levack

Historians have long claimed that England and Poland treated witches very differently during the period from 1550 to 1750. England, it is widely acknowledged, compiled one of the most lenient records in this regard, whereas Poland had a record of severity that could be matched only by some of the smaller German territories within the Holy Roman Empire. On the basis of admittedly incomplete records, historians have estimated that the English courts executed no more than 1,000 witches, while the corresponding number for Poland, which had a population only about 50 percent larger than that of England, was as high as 15,000.¹ On a per capita basis, therefore, Poland executed about ten times as many witches as England.

In recent years scholars have significantly reduced the estimates of the number of witchcraft executions in all continental European countries.² In Poland research on specific regions, most notably Wielkopolska or Great Poland, has led to a significant downward estimate of the total number of executions for the entire kingdom.³ It now appears that Polish courts may have executed as few as 2,000 witches. It is difficult, therefore, to sustain the traditional stark contrast between English lenience and Polish severity in the treatment of witches. Indeed, when we consider that more than 20,000 witches were executed in German-speaking lands during the same period of time, the Polish and English totals *both* indicate relative restraint in the prosecution of this crime.⁴

The most striking difference between Polish and English witch-hunting lies not in the total number of executions but in their chronological distribution. The most intense period of witch-hunting in England

¹ The figure of 1,000 English executions was first proposed in Ewen, *Witch Hunting*, p. 112. The Polish figure comes from Baranowski, *Procesy czarownic*, pp. 30–31, 175. Baranowski later lowered his estimates to a few thousand. See his afterward to Baschwitz, *Czarownice: Dzieje procesów o czary*, p. 430.

² For a discussion of these figures see Levack, *The Witch-Hunt*, pp. 21–26.

³ Wyporska, "Poland," pp. 907–910.

⁴ See Behringer, *Hexen und Hexenprozesse*, p. 193.

occurred in the closing decades of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century a gradual decline in prosecutions set in, interrupted only by a large witch-hunt (the largest in English history) in the south-eastern counties of the country between 1645 and 1647.⁵ After 1650 the number of prosecutions in England was gradually reduced to a trickle, with the last execution taking place in 1685 and the last trial in 1712.⁶ In Poland, by contrast, the number of prosecutions during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was very low—far lower than in England. Only after 1650 did Polish witch-hunting become more intense, reaching a peak in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and not coming to an end until after 1750.⁷

A comparison between Polish and English witch-hunting therefore must follow two lines of inquiry. First, the relative lenience, by European standards, of both English and Polish witch-hunting from 1550 to about 1650 requires explanation. Second, the increase in Polish prosecutions after 1650, at a time when English witch trials were coming to an end, must also be explained.

Prior to 1650 the crime of witchcraft was viewed in pretty much the same way in the two countries. Witches in both England and Poland were prosecuted mainly for *maleficium*, the alleged harm inflicted on their neighbors, their livestock, or their property by magical means, rather than for making pacts with the devil. It is true that there was a growing awareness in both countries, especially among clerical writers, of the nature of the crime. A group of early seventeenth-century English demonologists that included William Perkins, Alexander Roberts and Richard Bernard emphasized the belief that witches made pacts with the devil,⁸ while in Poland a translation of Heinrich Kramer's late fifteenth-century treatise, *Malleus maleficarum*, which emphasized

⁵ Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, chapter 5; Gaskill, *Witchfinders*.

⁶ Levack, "The Decline and End," pp. 53–59.

⁷ Baranowski, *Procesy czarownic*, p. 179, indicates that 23 percent of all Polish trials took place during the years 1676–1700 and 35 percent during the years 1701–1725. Wyporska's figures for Great Poland in "Poland," p. 907, indicate the highest concentration of trials in the period 1676–1700 and the second highest in 1701–1725. The maximum number of executions occurred between 1707 and 1711. In the town of Kleczew the most intense period of prosecution was also 1700–1724, when 116 people were tried for witchcraft and at least 65 of them were burned at the stake. Wiślicz, "Tło społeczne procesów," pp. 229–44.

⁸ Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*; Bernard *A Guide to Grand Jury Men*. For a discussion of this group of demonologists see Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 439–41.

the demonic dimension of witchcraft, appeared in 1614.⁹ It took some time, however, before witchcraft trials in either country focused on the witch's relationship with the devil. English statutory law did not authorize witchcraft prosecutions on the basis of the demonic pact until 1604,¹⁰ and only a small percentage of trials after that date made any reference to the devil.¹¹ In Poland, where the religious dimension of the witch's crime was somewhat more apparent than in England, it was not possible to try a witch simply for making a pact with the devil, without any evidence that the accused had performed *maleficia*, until the middle of the seventeenth century.¹²

During this early period of witch-hunting charges that witches engaged in collective devil-worship were rare. The first reference to an English sabbath, as such nocturnal assemblies of witches were called, appeared in the records of a trial in Lancashire in 1612. This meeting of some 30 witches was a remarkably tame affair by German and French standards, since it did not involve naked dancing, promiscuous sexual activity, or the sacrifice of children to the devil.¹³ In similar fashion, confessions to attending the witches' sabbath appear only occasionally in the early Polish trials, and they too say little about orgies or infanticidal rites. The infrequency of charges of collective devil-worship before 1650 in either England or Poland also helps to account for the relatively low number of convictions and executions in both countries. Only when confessing witches were forced to identify those who accompanied them to the sabbath did witch-hunts take a heavy toll in lives.

The relative moderation of witch-hunting in both England and Poland before the middle of the seventeenth century can also be attributed, at least in part, to traditions of religious tolerance that prevailed in both countries. By contemporary European standards neither England nor Poland could be classified as a persecuting society. Neither country had a history of burning many heretics in the late Middle

⁹ Kramer and Sprenger, *Młot na czarownice*. Only the second of three parts, which dealt with the methods and countermeasures of witchcraft and included material on the demonic pact, was translated. The *Malleus* was not translated into English until the early twentieth century: *The Malleus Maleficarum*. Recent scholarship has established that Kramer was almost certainly the sole author of the treatise.

¹⁰ 1 Jac. I, c. 12. The statute made it criminal to "consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed or reward any evil and wicked spirit."

¹¹ In the county of Essex only 28 of 503 indictments between 1580 and 1680 involved contact with evil spirits. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 25.

¹² Wyporska, "Poland," p. 42.

¹³ Potts, *A Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*, sig. C2v–C3.

Ages, when the Inquisition was prosecuting Cathars and Waldensians with a vengeance in France and Germany. England, to be sure, had executed a number of Lollards in the fifteenth century, and during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary I (1553–1558) in the mid sixteenth century some 300 Protestants were burned at the stake for their religious beliefs. But during the period of witchcraft prosecutions, which began in the 1560s during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), the government established a broad, comprehensive Protestant church that accommodated people of varying stripes, leaving only the most zealous Catholics and Protestants outside the church. None of those nonconformists, moreover, were tried for heresy. The last execution for heresy in England took place in 1612.

The record of Polish religious tolerance before 1650 is even more striking than that of the English. The only significant prosecution of Polish heretics in the Middle Ages took place in the fifteenth century, when the Inquisition executed a few Hussites in the southern part of the country. In the sixteenth century Poland acquired the reputation of being “a state without stakes,” a country where substantial Calvinist, Lutheran and Orthodox minorities were free to practice their faith in a kingdom that had Catholic monarchs. Poland also became the home of foreign religious refugees, most notably Italian Socinians, German Mennonites, and French Huguenots. It was arguably the most tolerant country in Europe, even more so than the Dutch Republic. The main reason for this tradition of tolerance was the political strength of the Protestant nobility, whose insistence on freedom of worship was inextricably tied to their efforts to secure and maintain their political privileges. Their strength, coupled with the corresponding weakness of the Polish monarchy, prevented Catholic monarchs from enforcing religious conformity and led to the liberal religious policies of Kings Sigismund II August (1548–1572) and Stephen Bathory (1575–1587).¹⁴

For different reasons, therefore, England and Poland were relatively tolerant kingdoms in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the clearest sign of that tolerance was the absence of severe religious strife. Neither country experienced the religious warfare that plagued France in the late sixteenth century and Germany well into the seventeenth century. Only in the English Revolution of the 1640s did religious tensions between Puritans and conformists, later known as

¹⁴ Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes*.

Anglicans, lead to armed conflict. The main reason for the maintenance of religious peace in both countries was the reluctance of ruling elites to establish a godly state. That same reluctance, especially among the lay magistracy, also helps to explain why witchcraft prosecutions were so restrained in both countries.¹⁵ Without a desire to wage war against the enemies of the true religion, including the devil's confederates, witchcraft prosecutions were likely to focus on isolated acts of maleficent magic, not collective devil-worship.

In keeping with this line of argument, the end of religious tolerance and the belated occurrence of a counter-Reformation in Poland in the late seventeenth century provides one explanation for the surprising intensification of witchcraft prosecutions in Poland at a time when they were dying out in England. There is little doubt that witchcraft trials in Poland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were driven to some extent by religious zeal and were the product of a mentality that had rejected the spirit of religious toleration that had prevailed for more than a century. The greater frequency of charges of devil-worship in these later trials is consistent with this interpretation. Only when judicial authorities took it upon themselves to purge society of the devil's confederates did witchcraft prosecutions reach a level of intensity that exceeded that of England. During these later years reports of Polish gatherings at the witches' sabbath, which allegedly took place on Łysa Góra (Bald Mountain), were common.¹⁶ It is also noteworthy that during this intense period of Polish witchcraft prosecutions, the courts used the Biblical condemnation of witchcraft in Exodus 22:18 ("Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live") to justify its procedure in almost every trial. This Biblical citation does not appear in the records of any English witchcraft trials.

A second reason for the intensification of witch-hunting in Poland at the very time that the trials were tapering off in England relates to the mood that prevailed within the governing elites of both countries. Many recent studies of witch-hunting have noted that witch-hunting was most intense during periods of profound political and religious anxiety. National crises, such as periods of rebellion or revolution, can create

¹⁵ On the relationship between religious conflict and witch-hunting see Waite, *Heresy, Magic and Witchcraft*, esp. chapter 5.

¹⁶ For a discussion of Polish ideas of the witches' sabbath, which conformed closely to those that prevailed in other parts of continental Europe, see Wyporska, "Early Modern Exclusion," pp. 156–57.

fears of disorder that find their outlet in witch-hunting. Certainly the intense witch-hunting in England during the Civil War can be related in a number of ways to the fear of the ruling elite that the social and political order was being undermined.¹⁷ In the kingdom of Scotland, where witch-hunting was much more intense than in England or Poland, the political and religious turmoil of the revolutionary period of the 1640s supplied many of the anxieties that found expression in witch-hunting, especially in 1643 and 1649. In similar fashion, the large Scottish witch-hunt of 1661–2 took place in the unsettled political and religious atmosphere following the restoration of the monarchy and episcopacy and the withdrawal of English troops that had occupied the country for 11 years.¹⁸

In Poland the political crisis that set the stage for the beginning of intense witch-hunting in the late seventeenth century was The Deluge, a prolonged period of instability and economic chaos ushered in by the Cossack rebellion of 1648 and the first northern war against Sweden and Russia in 1655–60. During this period hostile forces ravaged the country and paralyzed the government. The Deluge laid the psychological foundation for the intense witchcraft prosecutions in such places as Kalisz (1650–1680) and Gniezno (1670–1690). During this same period England did not experience a national trauma of such proportions. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 a period of commercial expansion and economic growth, coupled with the gradual emergence of political stability, gave ruling elites little cause to identify witches as a source of disorder in society.

The divergence between Polish and English witch-hunting after 1650 was facilitated by two fundamental differences in the criminal justice systems of the two countries. The first concerns the use of torture in the prosecution of crime. In England, where criminal procedure was accusatorial, torture was permitted only in cases of treason and required a special warrant from the Privy Council before it could be administered.¹⁹ In the prosecution of all other felonies, including witchcraft, it was strictly forbidden. The prohibition of torture in English witchcraft cases prevented judges or other judicial officials from forcing witches to confess to diabolical activities that they suspected the witches had

¹⁷ On the relationship between the anxieties of the ruling class and witchcraft prosecutions see Levack, *Witch-Hunt*, pp. 156–59.

¹⁸ Levack, "The Great Scottish Witch-hunt," pp. 90–108.

¹⁹ Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof*.

engaged in. In Poland, however, where the system of criminal procedure was inquisitorial and judges had much more latitude in interrogating defendants, torture could be used at the court's discretion. It was applied regularly in witchcraft trials, even when the accused witches were children. The tortures that were administered, which included burning candles under the arms or against the lips, violated many of the rules that governed the administration of torture since its introduction in European ecclesiastical and secular courts in the thirteenth century.²⁰ The extensive and intensive use of torture in witchcraft cases, which became the subject of great legal controversy among Polish jurists and clerics in the late seventeenth century²¹ was crucial in facilitating the prosecution of Polish witches at the same time that the trials were ending in England.

The second important difference between English and Polish justice was that English judges from the central courts exercised much greater control over the prosecution of crime than did their counterparts in Poland. In England almost all criminal trials were conducted at the county assizes before two judges from the central law courts at Westminster. Although these judges did not determine guilt or innocence, which in the English judicial system was left to lay jurors, they did exercise tight control over the conduct of the trial. They could therefore make sure that only qualified witnesses could testify in witchcraft cases and guarantee that witches would not be tortured. They also could instruct the jury on points of law, such as when one eighteenth-century judge, in response to testimony that the accused witch had flown, observed that it was not against English law to fly.²² The presence of judges from the central courts at all English witchcraft trials was in large part responsible for helping to keep the number of convictions and executions relatively low.

In Poland there was no such central supervision of local witchcraft trials. If the trials had been held in the church courts in accordance with the Kraków Constitution of 1543 and royal decrees of 1672 and 1713, the number of Polish witchcraft executions might have been significantly

²⁰ Wyporska, "Poland," p. 43.

²¹ See for example Czartoryski, *Instructio circa juridica sagarum*. Many of these treatises were inspired by Spee, *Cautio Criminalis*, which was translated into Polish as *Czarownica powołana* in 1639.

²² Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft*, p. 328.

reduced.²³ But even after these edicts were published, most witchcraft trials continued to be conducted in either village or municipal courts. This practice served as a graphic illustration of the fact that although neither Poland nor England had powerful monarchies, England had a long tradition of judicial centralization that was absent in Poland. In the eighteenth century this practice of conducting trials in local courts without central supervision allowed witchcraft trials to continue long after they had been discontinued elsewhere in Europe and even to increase in number. Polish central authorities, most notably Bishop Czaratoryski in 1669, tried to remedy this problem but success was slow in coming.²⁴ In 1745 the *Sejm* passed a statute forbidding village judges from trying witchcraft cases on pain of death. Then, in 1768 the highest Polish court, the assessors' tribunal, prohibited the towns from conducting witchcraft trials. Even then, local authorities continued to try and execute witches. In 1775 the town of Doruchowo executed 14 witches from the village of Głabowo, a large witch-hunt that would have been inconceivable in England a century before, much less in the eighteenth century.²⁵ The severity of that witch-hunt led the *Sejm* to pass an edict decriminalizing witchcraft in 1776, forty years after the British Parliament had put an end to all trials in England and Scotland.

The lack of central control over criminal trials in Poland also helps to explain the high number of illegal witch-murders or lynchings in Polish villages and towns. Baranowski's estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 lynchings was greatly exaggerated, but there is little doubt that a substantial number of Polish witches were executed without due process of law.²⁶ The total number of such lynchings is certainly higher than the corresponding figure for England. In England, to be sure, lynchings did take place, usually when the government refused to prosecute people suspected of being witches or after the courts had acquitted them. The English government, however, took swift and decisive action against those who attacked witches, prosecuting them for assault or

²³ The central tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition exercised this type of control over most Spanish witch-trials in the seventeenth century. See Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*.

²⁴ Czaratoryski, *Mandatum pastorale*.

²⁵ The earliest account of this trial was written in 1835. It remains a matter of controversy whether the trial ever took place. See Tazbir, "Z dziejów fałszerstw historycznych," p. 590.

²⁶ Baranowski, *Procesy czarownic*, p. 179. Janusz Tazbir claims that half the witches executed in Poland were lynched. Tazbir, "Hexenprozesse in Polen," p. 299.

murder, as in 1751 when a mob at Tring in Hertfordshire killed an 80-year-old woman suspected of witchcraft. The ringleader of that mob was promptly tried and executed for murder.²⁷ In Poland, the central government found itself incapable of taking such decisive action. Hence many witch-murderers went unpunished. In 1690 villagers in Gniezno lynched not only the witches who had been acquitted but also the judges who had acquitted them. Witch-lynchings in Poland continued well into the nineteenth century.²⁸

The weakness of central judicial authority in Poland also contributed to the last Polish, and the last European, witchcraft execution at Poznań (Posen) in 1793, seventeen years after the *Sejm* had declared that witchcraft was no longer a crime. In this case, however, the failure of the government to take action against an illegal witch trial was the result of the events leading up to the third partition of the country in 1795, not the structure of royal justice. By the preliminary terms of that partition, the province of Great Poland, where the majority of Polish witchcraft cases had taken place during the previous three centuries, was to become part of Prussia. The trial of two witches in the city occurred during an interim period when there was no established government. The municipal court at Poznań took advantage of this opportunity and had the two women executed.²⁹ The legality of the trial remains a subject of controversy. It was undertaken by a properly constituted municipal government but without the sanction of higher authorities. The royal commission that was overseeing the transfer of power from Poland to Prussia tried to stop the execution but acted too late. It is likely that if either a Polish or a Prussian government had been fully constituted at that time, the trial would not have taken place. Nonetheless, the executions conform to a longstanding tradition in which local Polish authorities exercised considerable judicial independence from central governmental control. This tradition of judicial decentralization goes a long way toward explaining how Polish witch-hunting could have intensified and persisted at a time when witch-hunting in England was coming to an end.

²⁷ Carnochan, "Witch-Hunting and Belief," pp. 388–403.

²⁸ Tazbir, "Hexenprozesse in Polen," p. 299.

²⁹ Scholtz, *Über den Glauben der Zauberei*, p. 120, quoted in Soldan and Heppe, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*, II p. 332.

POLISH RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION AS A TOPIC IN BRITISH WRITING IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Beata Cieszyńska

British writers from the 1620s to the 1750s showed an interest in the status of religious minorities in Poland. The most evident examples could be drawn from texts written about the so-called “Thorn Affair” of 1724. Observing changes in British writers’ opinions of incidents of Polish intolerance allows charting of the main motives they ascribed to the Poles. Polish religious affairs were variously received in early modern British popular literature, and sometimes contradictorily. These different faces of Poland reveal the particular British context in which facts of religious persecution in Poland were discussed. Three of these tendencies seem to be of greatest importance and are to be analysed here. First, there was a gradual replacement of the image of a tolerant, liberal country by the idea of a “Popish and Jesuit kingdom.” Some immediate prominent observable examples of Polish persecution amongst the others were a result of the close Scottish-Polish relationship. Second, there was a desire to help Protestants in Poland during their various periods of oppression, especially during The Deluge (1655–60) and the Northern War (1700–1721). Third, there was a projection of Britain’s own external and internal policy in the context of Poland’s religious persecutions, applied at various times like the proscription of the Arianists in Poland (1658), the “Gdańsk tumult” (1678), and more strongly manifested in the British attitude towards the “Thorn Affair.”

In the seventeenth century religion in Poland was quite an interesting subject for observation and comparison for British writers, since it also was a time of great religious and political struggle in Britain itself. Religious tolerance in Poland—traditionally seen as one of the characteristics of the country—declined with the accession to the throne of the Swedish monarch, Sigismund III, and the rise of Jesuit influence at court. British people, in turn, became more critical of Polish religious and political actions. British writers were becoming increasingly aware at this time of the price of Polish tolerance, not only for Poland, but also

for the rest of Europe, including Britain. From the 1630s the victorious Polish Counter-Reformation helped to make British authors more and more sensitive to the situation of Polish Protestants, which towards the end of that century and in the first decades of the next, especially after the scandalous withdrawal of Saxony, created the conditions for the foundation of the league of Protestant countries under Britain's strong leadership. With the arrival of the Counter-Reformation in Poland and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War some "undeniable proofs of Poland as a state without stakes"¹ forced British writers to reconsider their ideas.² One of the sources for the re-evaluation of Poland's religious tolerance was the Scottish diaspora in Poland.

Generally, British writers praised Poland as a "mother willing to feed crowds of Scottish peddlers."³ However, a contrary view of Polish tolerance in seventeenth-century Britain is evident in an interesting satire on the Catholic Church with its action set in Poland. Three versions of the poetic satire and in a number of editions appeared through the century. *The Pack-man pater noster* or *a dialogue betwixt a chapman and a priest* was first composed by Sir James Sempill in the year 1624 and, in a deliberate deception, presented to the public as a translation from the original Dutch. It consists of a dialogue, in which a Scottish peddler or packman in Poland comes to a Catholic priest named John in order to understand the essential points of the Catholic religion:

A Polands Pedlar went upon a day,
Unto his Parish Priest to learne to pray.
The Priest sayd: Packe-man, thou must haunt the Closter,
to learn the *Ave* and the *Pater Noster*.⁴

¹ Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów i inne szkice*.

² One of them, the asylum in Poland gained by the Marian martyr the Duchess of Suffolk who lived in peace with her family in Crozam (Samogitia) in 1557–9, became even a subject of great mystification in the play by Thomas Drue, *The life of Duchess of Suffolke* which was performed in 1623–1624 and published in London in 1630. Drue misrepresented the Polish king who invited the Duchess to Poland as the Rhenish Count Palatine. Limon: *Danger Matters*, pp. 21–41.

³ Lithgow, *The totall discourse*, Part. IX. Listing the reasons for Scots migrating to Poland, Anna Biegańska wrote: "Of no less importance for the Scottish Presbyterians was the knowledge that traditions of humane tolerance prevailed in Poland, even long before the days when Europe was plagued by religious wars. Therefore, they, as well as other groups of religious dissenters, were able to find shelter and accommodation in that Roman Catholic state, where they were free to adhere to their conscience." See her *The learned Scots*, p. 1.

⁴ *A Pick-tooth for the Pope*, A1.

The main topics discussed in the course of the dialogue are the use of Latin versions of the mass and prayers, praying to God through the intercession of both Christ's mother and the saints, and the pope's authority. Packman is stylised here as a naive and uneducated person who had never studied Latin at school and who, therefore, felt excluded from real praying. He first allows the priest to assert his superiority, which John, of course, does eagerly. Sometimes shaped as a Socratic dialogue, the "chat" was designed to stress Packman's real eloquence, which leads to his undeniable oral victory. As a result, John suspects a pack on his back to be only a disguise:

Well Packe-man, thou beare about that Trunke,
I feare thou bee but some forlopen Monke,
Of *Luthers* love, or crooked Calvines Crew,
And sent abroad, such businesse to brew:
Transformed in the person of some Pedler.⁵

Packman consistently denies the charge and then again proves his eloquence, showing knowledge of the Church Fathers, the Bible in its Catholic and Protestant versions and a great capacity to make an impromptu critical analysis of any topic that comes up in discussion. Finally, the quite helpless priest asks him to return the following day to discuss that matter with his superior, a prior, and Packman returns. After a long wakeful night, filled with contradicting emotions, he arrives festively dressed to the cloister to take up the topic with John's prior. This attempt, however, proves to be a disaster. From the very beginning of their meeting the prior treats both Packman and Father John as heretics and has no objection to educating the peddler by force:

Hee call'd them heretiques, both, and vow'd to hang them.
With that Pack-Man hurled through the Closter,
And there he met with an ill-favoured Foster.
Who quicly twined him, and all on his Back;
And then he learn'd to pray, shame fall the Pack;

Therefore the pedlar's conclusion was clearcut:

For if they have not freed mee of my sinne,
They sende mee out lighter than I came in.

⁵ *Ibidem*, (B3). I would like to thank Arthur H. Williamson for showing me the cultural context of that fragment, which is also shown by his paper in this volume.

And his reaction was quite fierce:

And still hee cryde, Shame fall both Monks and Fryers,
For I have lost my Pack, and learn'd no Prayers.
So farewell Ave, Creed, and Pater noster;
I'll pray'n my Mother- tongue, and quyte the Closter.⁶

This satiric dialogue was later plagiarised by the famous “water poet,” John Taylor, as *A Pedlar and a Romish priest in a very hot Discourse, full of Mirth, Truth, Wit, Folly, and plain-dealing*, in 1641. He reoriented Sempill's Calvinistic arguments in order to make them fit better the Anglican church's views,⁷ partly eliminating the Scottish context of the poem. Although Taylor repeats emphatically both the topics and the relationship between conversational partners of Sempill's dialogue, he underlines the idea of Poland as the only place in the Roman Catholic world to make that kind of free discussion possible:

Wert thou at Rome, & half these words didst speak,
Pedlar it were enough thy neck to break;
But here you live, and talk and prate secure,
and undervalue that blest Virgin pure,
Yeelding no honour, or no adoration.
To her, or to her dayes of celebration.
(Goe but to Spaine, and shew thy vild condition,
Thou shalt be tortur'd in the Inquisition.)⁸

Therefore Poland existed at the opposite extreme to Rome and Spain of the Inquisition. In Taylor's version, however, Pedlar rejects as useless the suggestion that he return the next day to meet the prior. Greatly disappointed by the Roman Catholic priest's ignorance, he quits the cloister ultimately convinced that there was no way to unite with Catholics. It remains clear that both Packman and the priest left as they had come, in peace, keeping to their own positions. The incident of intolerance with the prior was omitted. Although the dialogue shows as strong a focus on the faithfulness of Packman's cause as Sempill's work, Taylor stresses that Poland was a special place that offered the possibility to discuss religious matters without any threat of persecution.⁹

⁶ The number of that page is missing but the reconstruction suggests it to be B5.

⁷ Kendal, *John Taylor's Piracy*, pp. 201–210.

⁸ *English Poetry Database* (Chadwyck collections), p. 7.

⁹ Anna Biegańska in her article “In Search of Tolerance,” pp. 44–47, refers to the real attacks on Scots in Poland. “Altogether there were about twenty cases of assaults on the dissenters in all Poland and a dozen or so on the Catholics in Toruń, Gdańsk,

Why Taylor's image of Poland differs so much from Sempill's diagnosis is not easy to explain. Could it be the general religious moderation shown by Taylor and the lesser hatred of Catholicism as compared with the Scottish versions?¹⁰ Could it be the result of positive experiences of Poland or the Poles during his travels to Bohemia and East Central Europe?¹¹ Or maybe the contrast with Sempill was caused by his withdrawal from Scottish affairs and his unwillingness to identify himself with the Scots? These are all plausible explanations, but there is no certain answer. In any case, the more negative depiction of Poland provided by Sempill proved to have more impact on the consciousness of the British. The moderate Taylor's dialogue was not reprinted, whereas Sempill's dialogue on Poland as a place for religious discussion was to be repeated in British editions up to the first decades of the eighteenth century. This happened thanks to his son, Robert, who enlarged and filled the text with even more aggressive arguments in the third version of his father's poem, which appeared in 1642. This version was reprinted a few more times.¹² One might conclude that this version better matched British, or at least Scottish, opinions based on later accounts by real Scottish peddlers from Poland, their "foster homeland," as well as other British reports on Polish Counter-Reformation actions.¹³

More obviously anti-Protestant attitudes in Poland-Lithuania were to be found in an eye-witness account by the Lutheran minister, Eleazar Gilbert, who served the English and Scottish congregation in Vilnius for three years. He witnessed the persecution of Calvinists there in the year 1639 and the destruction of their church in 1640. Gilbert published his report in the year 1641, after his return to England. His *News from Poland: wherein is declared the cruell practice of the popish clergie against protestants*,¹⁴ announces on its title page: "Read it over and you

Elbląg, Ryga and Królewiec. Minor incidents arising from interdenominational friction did occur, but bloody persecutions organized by the authorities, as happened in virtually all other European countries, were unknown," p. 47.

¹⁰ Capp, *The World of John Taylor*, pp. 132–40; Kendall, however, in his *John Taylor's Piracy*, p. 204, underlines Taylor's deep involvement in the religious controversy rather than his moderateness.

¹¹ Capp, *The World of John Taylor*, p. 127.

¹² Probably the first edition of Robert Sempill was prepared in 1634 (Kendall, *John Taylor's Piracy*, p. 204) but what surely survived is *A Pick-tooth for the Pope*.

¹³ Kendall listed subsequent editions of Robert's version in 1669 (Edinburgh and Glasgow editions), and 1696. See *John Taylor's Piracy*, p. 202.

¹⁴ Gilbert, *News from Poland*.

shall find it a most unparelled story for barbarous Treacherie.” While a strong accusation, the account is a quite faithful description of the events, albeit with the goal of promoting the Protestant cause and somewhat of a panegyric on Princes Janusz and Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Gilbert’s Polish supporters.

His perspective can be observed in his examination of the manifestation of God’s Providence in “Vilnian affairs.” He recognised it through a sudden death of one of the nuns, who had earlier falsely testified against Protestants to justify their persecution. He provided a very detailed account of the tragic persecution, sparked accidentally by Calvinists but later eagerly pursued by Catholics, of Vilnian Protestants, including his own community, and its consequences. On the basis of his own experience, he blamed only the Jesuits for causing trouble for Protestants. In his opinion, Polish Catholics were naturally passive, and thus both susceptible to specific Catholic illusions and likely to embark on persecutions, especially when under Jesuit influence.

The author of *News from Poland* appeared to be a religious as well as profound thinker. His statements against Catholics were void of hatred and quite reasonable. What surprises a contemporary reader most is Gilbert’s conclusion, a lesson drawn from Poland for Britain. Knowing the consequences of intolerance so well from Poland, at the very beginning of the English Civil War, he recommended that all non-Anglican sects, together with Catholics, be rooted out and banished from the kingdom. So he emphatically encouraged his king:

That he may be pleased so to affect and dispose the hearts of the Peers and Princes, Magistrates of this Land, that they may speedely bethinke themselves of some opportune way and means, whereby all fractions, and factions, schismes, separations, sidings, and backsidings, contentions, combustions, confusions, prevarications finally all Antichristian, polypragmaticall, tyrannicall, and treacherous heresies, schismes, practices, professions, and enterprises may be quite, or at least as much as is possible, abolished and removed from the body and bounds of this Monarchie [...]¹⁵

He does not vow to kill extremists but to reject and banish them, which would cause God to grant the kingdom final unity in the formula of “one God and one King.” His analysis is based on both partly justified suspicions of a negative influence of Catholics in his country and

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

on true love for unity. But in an argument that seems to be significant and characteristic of the epoch, he could not even imagine a peaceful coexistence of different denominations within the one country. And he also failed to realise that he had advised the British to undertake exactly what the Polish Catholics had attempted in Vilnius. It seems peaceful coexistence was simply beyond his comprehension. This interpretation is confirmed by the statements of positive surprise he made at the beginning of his mission—he was greatly amused by the fact that a large number of denominations lived in peace together.¹⁶ It appears that the incident he experienced pushed him to the extreme.

In Eleazar Gilbert's case, at the risk of overstatement, it could be said that Polish persecution provided simple justification of English persecution, and not only towards Catholics, but also every non-Anglican denomination, justification of persecution of anyone who was different on behalf of religious unity. His work was a harsh statement against Catholics and had some effect at home. Its second edition, published in 1652, was especially welcomed as an impressive example of Catholic treachery in Poland.

Another instance of Polish religious intolerance that provoked comment in Britain came in the time of the political and religious struggle accompanying the wars ruining Poland in the second part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century.

British writers found powerful examples of Polish prosecution activity after The Deluge when a series of anti-Protestant incidents, apparently attempts at revenge for Protestant support for the Swedish army, took place in Poland-Lithuania. The most effective evidence for Polish intolerance appeared to be *The book of Martyrs*, completed in 1701 in the part entitled *The persecution continued in Hungary, Poland and Lithuania*, as well as Robert Burton's *Martyrs in flames, or, The history of poppery displaying the horrid persecutions and cruelties...*¹⁷ Horrible scenes of inhuman cruelty, such as roasting people alive or cutting off parts of their bodies in Leszno (Lesna), Karmin, Schochy, Karlęcín and other places, were illustrated with pictures of Protestants, especially ministers, hunted by Poles.

¹⁶ Biegańska, *In Search of Tolerance...*, p. 50.

¹⁷ *The book of Martyrs*, II; Burton, *Martyrs in flames*.

The more historically based account of Leszno's fate appeared in British writings quite late, in the eighteenth-century supplement to Fox's *Books of Martyrs*.¹⁸ This detailed account finished with the well-known moving verses which read, in the English version:

When first Lesna stood of old
Now nought but Ashes we behold.¹⁹

While the famous "Tragedy of Lesno" also involved the Arianists, a religious minority in Poland often called the "Polish Brothers" or the Socinians, none of the later British writers identified them, eagerly forgetting persecutions of the Arianists in Britain. They described all victims simply as "Protestants," without any doctrinal distinctions.

British authors' attitudes towards the Socinians proved to be complex. Some considered them a "blasphemous" sect, an undeniable sin and the evil fruit of Polish tolerance. The *Dracon Ordinance*, passed by the English Parliament in 1648, stated that everyone advocating Arianism should be punished with death. This law followed both the Polish and general European norms of the time.²⁰

Polish intolerance of Socinians sometimes provoked contradictory opinions. There was also a view in Britain that the creation and spread of the Socinian sect formed part of an anti-Protestant plot, begun in Poland, either by Jews or Jesuits. A poem entitled *Upon a prohibited Festivall of Nativity of our Saviour* by Edmund Gayton, a poet and "Phisician," demonstrates an effort to connect Polish tolerance of "new Arianists" with English anti-Semitism. According to Gayton, the Jews had invented Socinianism in Poland with a view to taking over London's Saint Paul's cathedral. Therefore, under the cover of persecution, Jews sent Arianists to England to cause religious ferment. Gayton claimed that the prohibition of Christmas celebrations during the Civil War and the Commonwealth period resulted from a combined "Jewish-Polish plot." That "calendar revolution," the poet said, should be overcome with recalling the spirit of Athanasius, the main opposer of the Arianists doctrine's founder, Arius. Gayton also appealed to the Swedish army invading Poland during The Deluge, as the "Swedish swords," predestined to find the proper means to root out Socinians.

¹⁸ Welsley, *A Supplement to Mr. Fox's*, VI, pp. 250–265.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 265.

²⁰ Ogonowski: *Mysł arianiska*, pp. 16–17.

Gayton saw both Jews and Socinians as the children of the same poisonous change within the unchangeable Scripture, explaining that Jews had purposely sent Socinians to England to kill the only truly Christian doctrine which stressed Christ's Divinity and thus undermine the state:

But Jews have shipt them over in Danz' boats,
And we (like Brutes) have swallowed Polish Oats.²¹

Published in the year 1663, this text does not, however, allow us to identify the year of writing, although a case might be made for both the time of the passing of the bill against Christmas (1645) and the period after the passing of the final Polish bill against the Arianists (1658). Gayton's poetic vision of ships loaded with Socinians and sent from Gdańsk to England better fits the latter. And, from that perspective, their banishment from Poland would be seen rather as a pretence at persecuting them which was said to be a deliberate Jewish plot against England.²²

The fate of Polish Protestants oppressed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the Great Northern War, inspired another sort of reaction. Following the king's appeal, a collection of money was begun on their behalf. However, as a result of dogmatic discussions which arose on that occasion, both "Popish" persecutions and troubles brought on by the war for Polish Protestants were scarcely noticed in writings referring to the topic in the years 1716–1717. Printed texts, mostly sermons or brief statments added to sermons, focused on the sources and status of Polish churches, whether or not they could be called Episcopal or Reformed. The anonymous author of *A Letter to the Bishop of Ely*²³ took a negative view of Polish Protestants. He argued that the Calvinist nobility in Poland was in fact not even Christian because the custom of electing their king violated God's will. That perspective suggested they were not worthy of any aid. Thomas Bennet addressed

²¹ Gayton, *Upon a prohibited Festivall*, p. 63.

²² Apart from the "Jewish plot" promoting Socinianism in the British Isles in the context of their wider movements as a result of Polish persecution, also accusations against Jesuits may be found in the British writings in the middle of the 17th century. See Bartlet, *Jesuites plots*, p. 6.

²³ *A letter to the Bishop of Ely, upon the Ocasion of his suppos'd LATE CHARGE (said to be Deliver'd at Cambridge, August 5th, 1716.) as far as Relates to what is therein urg'd against Frequent COMMUNION; and for the (pretended) Episcopal Reform'd Chrches of Transylvania, Great Poland and Prussia. by Philalethes* (M. Earbury), 2nd edition. London 1717.

this argument in order to justify charity for Polish Protestants in *The case of the Reforme'd Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia consider'd in a Sermon...*²⁴ He made a huge effort to counter dogmatic criticisms that distracted from the fund-raising efforts, but it seems that at that time ideological differences shaped reactions to the plight of these Protestants among the British.

While Eleazar Gilbert attempted to derive a general formula for Britain on the basis of his own Polish experience and observations, the anonymous author of the satire *St. Crispins triumph over Pope Innocent, or, The monks and fryers routed a Tragi-comedy, as it was lately acted with the great noise at Dantzick in Poland* published in 1678, was sure he had found a connection linking Poland to the very beginning of the "Popish plot." This accusation against Poland was based on the events of the 3 May, 1678, when craftsmen attacked the Catholic procession in Gdańsk, and the Carmelite church was plundered and the saints' pictures within were destroyed. It was the guilds' way of displaying their bitterness towards King John Sobieski, who, despite his promises, had not helped them during the visit he had paid to Gdańsk a few months earlier, and instead had shown only interest in supporting Catholics and receiving gifts.²⁵ Licensed in the beginning of November, the satire was purposely dated on 17th October. Added to the place of its publication was the following note:

Printed at Primrose Hill and for the special edification of those new Miracle-Mongers, who would perswade us, that after a man has been Strangled and Murdered, he can yet walk a Mile, and run himself through with his own Sword.

What was the reason for drawing a connection between the starting point of the "Popish plot" and the events in Gdańsk on the 3rd of May? *St. Crispins triumph over Pope Innocent* was written amid the hysteria of the beginning of the "Popish plot crisis," sparked by alleged revelations by Titus Oates that Jesuits had planned to kill Charles II and the Protestants who supported him in order to introduce his Catholic heir. The Whigs tried to use this so-called "Popish plot" as a pretext to exclude the Catholic successor, the Duke of York, from the British throne. The satirical poem served to show how Protestants defended

²⁴ Bennet, *The case of the Reforme'd Episcopal Churches*.

²⁵ See Cieślak, *Historia Gdańska*, III, 1655–1793, pp. 170–75; pp. 214, 243, 253; Cieślak, *Walki społeczno-polityczne*, pp. 222–48.

themselves against repeated Catholic plots and persecution by Jesuits, and proved that it reached its peak in those times of "Popish plot." Hysteria in London broke out with the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey,²⁶ a Westminster Justice of the Peace, whose body was found in the ditch nearby Primrose Hill. He was strangled and spiked with his own sword, on the evening of 17 October, as indicated in the satire. His death became a signal for anti-Catholic persecution. Two weeks later, by 2nd November, the situation seemed to be clear, and the connection between the events in Gdańsk and London as examples of the same Catholic persecution and Protestant martyrdom formed. It took few months for the Gdańsk events to become proof of yet another attempt by the Jesuits and papacy to persecute Protestants. The "Gdańsk anti-Catholic commotion" became considered as a simple Catholic provocation, founding a base for revenge and anti-Protestant persecution on a European scale, starting with the most firm Protestants, those in England.

As for satire's title, Saint Crispin was the patron of shoemakers, and functioned as a symbol of radical Protestants, being the "sole-menders," which in literary texts often gained the connotation of "soul-menders." In fact different guilds were involved, although one of their leaders, Kristian Meyer, was indeed a cobbler.²⁷

The satiric text is written from an ironic point of view, stylised on ironic monologues. The situation of conflict is described against the background of Jesuit vices and atrocities, as both an act of self-defence against their tricks and the result of fear by Protestants. One of the parts of that satire was a lampooning litany prayed by friaries first to Saint Dominic and then to the Devil, to encourage their retaliation against the Gdańsk Protestants.

The main aim was to show the coincidence and consequence of both incidents, in Gdańsk in May and in London in October, 1678. The first one appears to be a reason for the second one and thus gains the status of the true beginning of the "Popish plot crisis" in England. The English satire on the incident of 3 May was not an attack on Poland itself, but rather on the dominance of Popish and Jesuit forces there. The Polish king, John III Sobieski, however, appeared in the story as a guarantor of Catholic power in Gdańsk, which provoked the incident. The request from a delegation of monks from Gdańsk contains:

²⁶ See for example Marshall. *The strange Death*.

²⁷ Chapman, "Whose Saint Crispins' Day Is It?" p. 200.

Father Pope, and Father Devil,
 And you the most Unchristian Evel
 Wrong the right, we have sustain'd
 Wherein we were justly maim'd;
 They in spight of Sobietki,
 Mar'd the tools your worships get by
 Made on purpose to pick Pockets,
 Thievs are Saints disguise'd in Rocket
 Therefore, if you do not help us,
 Ye are Puppies, and bewhelp us;²⁸

After deciding that Saint Dominic lacked sufficient power to wreak vengeance on “bloody” Protestants, Gdańsk friars directed themselves to the greatest powers of Catholicism—the Pope, the Devil and the French King. This “trinity” decided that the revenge on the “shoemakers” should be exceptionally cruel, and carefully prepared, so their plenipotentiary became the “Monsieur,” as they called the French King. The promise to prepare a terrible vengeance became his new mission and, the narrator concludes, he started the “Popish plot” itself, because the French cause in England was the most important and still incomplete. The satire, *St. Crispins triumph over Pope Innocent*, was designed to reveal the connection with the British and make them remember the alarming principles of “popery,” which would then in turn allow the persecution of Catholics. Poland, and especially Gdańsk, just delivered the tailor-made opportunity to underline justification for this cause.

However, it was the execution of Protestants in Toruń (Thorn) in 1724 that caused the greatest repercussions in Britain. Protestants, provoked by Catholics, destroyed the Jesuit college and the pictures of saints within. The speed with which Poland imposed its cruel, if legal, punishment of two council members and a dozen rioters being condemned to death, ten of whom were publicly beheaded in December, 1724, provoked shock all over Europe, and mobilised both Prussian and British monarchs into making official protests. Reactions there showed that solidarity was a must. The “Thorn Affair” was often treated as a kind of apocalypse fulfilled, because of the Saxon connection. The need to observe the changeable forces of Protestant and Catholic countries caused British writers to examine the situation of Poland, especially after the accession to its throne of the king of Saxony, Augustus II. His conversion to Catholicism was clearly received as apostasy. In

²⁸ *St. Crispins triumph*, p. 11.

the year 1700 Richard Burridge published a long satirical poem, *An Apostate Prince or a satyr against the present King of Poland*, in which one of the methods of description was to ridicule a picture of Augustus, as led by the Jesuits:

[...] the *Blazon*, let it be,
Set out with all marks of Infamy;
Two *Jesuits*, the Supporters; on each Hand,
The Motto, God and Justice I withstand.²⁹

The long poem is also filled with prophecies that demonstrate the consequences of Augustus' apostasy for his very own country. Burridge highlights both political and religious persecution as inevitable results of the exposure of the Saxon to the Catholic, Jesuit tensions of the re-Catholicisation. Grave, dramatic pictures showed Saxon Protestants sacrificing their lives rather than their commitment to religious freedom:

Nay, more than this, your Rage will Violate
Those Holy Altars, which they Consecrate
Unto a Sacred Deity, that's true,
And not to Saints, their Fathers never knew.³⁰

The principal image of Augustus as a Polish King is as a "popish king," which meant being a tyrant. This aggressive satire explains why the situation in Saxony and its relationship to Poland became so topical in Britain. British observers speculated as to whether Saxony would become Catholic or not and expected Augustus to initiate persecution of Protestants at any moment. The satire also partly explains the later reactions of British writers to the "Thorn Affair."

The main source of information about the "Thorn Affair" was a collection of documents sent by the Prussian court. The most popular among them was *A faithful and exact Narrative of the horrid Tragedy, lately acted at Thorn in Polish Prussia, by the Contrivance and Instigation of the Jesuits*, published in the year 1725 and reprinted later a few times.³¹ The speech of the "Reverend Father Advocate to the Jesuits in Thorn" also helped create interest in the topic.³² The most interesting of these writings is

²⁹ Burridge, *An Apostate Prince*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

³¹ *A faithful and exact Narrative*. See also Wagner-Rundell in this volume.

³² It was published three times with the comments showing his idolatry and hidden cruelty, from Latin and French versions.

the *Remarks on the speech of the reverend Father the Advocate for the Jesuits of Thorn made by Philopatris*.³³ It is an excellent piece of polemic literature. It consists of a methodical analysis of the advocate's speech, showing step by step, how successive arguments were very carefully contrived. Jesuit idolatry was especially mocked. The most interesting for Philopatris was the part connected directly with England. As for the argument of the Jesuit that "Thorn is another England," Philopatris shows his mischievous appreciation in the words:

We in England are particularly oblig'd to the Reverent Father. What he said was all compliments because he had found out the worse of colours. And yet what catholic of common Sense, whose bigotry has not taken away his Feeling, would not rather choose to groan under English Laws, than to live within the Reach of Lawless Zeal or Unreleting Biggotry, which upon the Slightest Difference, scatters destruction or Mischief upon All around it?³⁴

When he started to summarise his commentary, speaking on the punishment already inflicted, great emotions, of both sorrow and indignation, caused him to cut off his speech.

It seems that a more moderate reaction to the "Thorn Affair" came only from one author, a Scot, Robert Hawarden,³⁵ with his *Some remarks on the decree of King Augustus II. And of the assessorial tribunal...* There he tried to observe the events in their wider historical context, arguing for the similarities between the two religious camps:

'Tis true, this paper everywhere supposes that Protestants are not impeccable, and that Papists are not always in the wrong.³⁶

Some British writers, following Augustus' propaganda, justified him as one willing to help Protestants in Toruń, but thwarted by the cruel intentions of magnates and Jesuits. *A poem upon a tragedy of Thorn*, by an anonymous Scottish author, written in September, 1725,³⁷ provides an extreme example of this perspective.

³³ *Remarks on the speech*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 3*.

³⁵ H. E. [Edward Hawarden] *Some remarks on the decree of King Augustus II. And of the assessorial tribunal, with other select judges of Poland, October the 30th, anno 1724:...* Together with an answer to a pamphlet intituled, *A faithful and exact narrative of the horrid tragedy lately acted at Thorn...*

³⁶ *Ibidem*, Preface.

³⁷ *A poem upon a tragedy of Thorn*, Edinburgh 1725.

With asking "Shall it become a nation's sin..."³⁸ it reveals great sensibility on the part of its author, who was also obliged to interrupt his work on the description of the "Thorn Affair" because he was overcome with emotion.³⁹ In the resumé of the affair, the poet confessed:

Yet Justice does require, that we
unto the World shou'd show,
that these Severities do not
from King Augustus flow;
But from Grandees and Jesuites,
whose malice is so keen,
They torture Laws, to make them speak
what they did never mean.⁴⁰

The longest lines are devoted to a description of those magnates who were enemies of his (sic!) king and plotted against him for their own material benefit. The following rhetorical question serves to indicate the final difference between the good king and his noble subjects:

Is't possible, that they can be
To King Augustus Friends,
Whose Conduct does alienate
From him the Peoples Minds?⁴¹

What is very noticeable is his strong identification with Poland, especially at that point. In his vision, Poland is ruined above all by 'grandees.' He blames them even more than the Jesuits and finally makes an accusation, linking the "Thorn Affair" and Stanislaus Leszczynski's claim to the Polish throne:

Should we not be afraid, that thus,
some dark and hellish Plot
by Stanislaus is contriv'd,
his Intrest to promote?⁴²

His whole poem is filled with emotion and he even calls Poland his (sic!) native land.⁴³ He was so overcome that he suddenly broke off

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³⁹ Readers learn about it from the additional note of the poem's publisher, signed as "I.P.," *ibidem*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ That and some other parts of that text seem to suggest strong Polish connections of the author but it still requires further research.

his poem after a vision of terrible destruction awaiting Poland under its unfaithful aristocratic inhabitants and the corruption of the will of innocent Augustus by the Jesuits.

Other British authors treated the “Thorn Affair” as the fulfilment of the apocalypse. They argued that it was another step in Augustus’ withdrawal from the Protestant cause and urged Protestant powers to reintroduce tolerance into Poland by force. Among that group the most distinguished was *An alarm to protestant princess and people, who are all struck at in the Popish cruelties at Thorne...*, by Charles Owen, printed in 1725.⁴⁴ It exploited Biblical rhetoric and imagery, such as metaphors of Egypt as the Catholic Church and Israel representing Protestantism. Its main conclusion was to promote “the strong union amongst the all protestant powers under the glorious King George of Britain, the great patron of Liberty and Property.”

The following extract from the end of his work best represents his rhetoric:

Not a Dog in Aegypt would move his Tongue against Israel, if Israel were thus united, especially under King George, the titular head of the Protestant Religion.⁴⁵

The word “massacre,” recalled also by Owen, was frequently applied to the Toruń executions. Attempts were made to construct an impressive parallel with the massacre of 150,000 Protestants by Catholics in Ireland in the 1641 rebellion.⁴⁶

The warning from Poland was to be repeated in some later texts of the eighteenth century that dealt with Protestants in Poland, but was never to be so strong again. The last textual evidence of such Protestant alarm was the satire reflecting Polish conflicts in the Interregnum which appeared in 1733, *Do you know what you are about? Or, a protestant alarm to Great Britain: proving our late theatric squabble, a type of the present contest for the crown of Poland*. Its anonymous author made in the *Prologue* a general comparison between Polish political and English theatrical conflicts, with Poland coming off rather negatively:

⁴⁴ Owen, *An alarm to protestant*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Wight. *A history of the rise and progress*, p. 19. I would like to thank Róisín Healy for providing me with that information, also to be found in this volume.

When such a Bustle's for a King of Poland,
Those many wish there were a king of No-Land.⁴⁷

In this libel, Poland is treated as a negative example of a country from the Catholic camp, in the rather comical context of theatrical conflicts of that time. It also shows a gradual change in the consciousness of the British, who during the Enlightenment began to withdraw from religious conflict.

In troubled and increasingly weak Poland, the oppression of Protestants was routine, but their means of defence were stronger than ever. Calling for external support became habitual. Although Britain also later allied with Russia or Prussia to guarantee Protestants' rights in Poland, from the Interregnum of 1733–1735 on, political topics dominated both political and literary texts.

British political commentators recalled incidents of intolerance to justify their passivity during the partitions of Poland, especially the first.⁴⁸ The change of perspective appeared in writings concerned with Poland's third partition, which were filled with compassion, and focused more on the virtues of a dying country.⁴⁹

It appears that a few motives were paramount in British comments upon religious persecutions in Poland in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Treating Poland as a "Popish kingdom" caused authors to revise the former view of Poland as a "state without stakes." The close Scottish-Polish relationship provided some immediate examples of Polish persecution that attracted great attention in Britain. British writers focused on persecution also in order to control a surprising experiment of uncontrolled political and religious liberty in Poland which through the seventeenth and eighteenth century pushed the country to be more and more a trouble spot of Europe. Another motive was the desire to help Protestants in Poland, who sought British aid during the time of their various oppressions, especially after The Deluge and the Great Northern War, although with different purposes in mind. Thirdly, but no less importantly, Britain's own external and internal policies provide a vital context for understanding attitudes to Poland's religious persecutions, especially the "Thorn Affair."

⁴⁷ *Do you know what you are about?* p. 1.

⁴⁸ See Horn, *British Public Opinion*, pp. 39–40; 60; 71–3.

⁴⁹ See e.g. a long poem by Thomas Galloway, *Poems; The Vision*. See also Horn, *British Public Opinion*, chapter VII.

Among topics still waiting to be fully researched are a more detailed evaluation of the image of Poland as a tolerant country and that of a truly “papistic” one, and how that image gradually changed during the two indicated centuries. That purpose will require examining commonplace books, which can help to reveal the whole range and determinants of public opinion in Britain. It can also reveal less official British views.

DIASPORAS

KRAKÓW CITIZENSHIP AND THE LOCAL SCOTS, 1509–1655¹

Waldemar Kowalski

Introduction

The socioeconomic roles Scottish immigrants played in early modern Poland-Lithuania undoubtedly need further scholarly attention. It is estimated that “the Eastland” was an outlet for about 35 per cent of soldiers and merchants of that nation, who made up as much as 0.4 per cent of the Commonwealth’s population by the 1650s. Undoubtedly not only the poor left the territories north of the Border but also relatively well-to-do traders settled in Polish towns to increase their assets. An assessment of the newcomers’ material situation seems helpful to better understand the favourable economic conditions in Poland and reevaluate the “push factors” in Scotland. As no registration of emigrants exists, and relevant information is sparse, Polish urban records are the only sources enabling systematic tracing of the immigration process.² This article provides an introduction to this subject by examining those Scots who were granted Kraków citizenship from 1509 through to 1655.

Although Scottish merchants and soldiers were not as numerous as Germans, Italians or Jews in Kraków, then the capital of Poland and the main residence of the royal court before 1609, they were distinctive because of their professions and because of their strong Evangelical sentiment.³ Nevertheless, very little is known about their socioeconomic

¹ The article derives in large part from research conducted while a visiting professor at the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies of the University of Aberdeen. The visit was made possible by a grant from The Caledonian Research Foundation/The Royal Society of Edinburgh in 2003.

I am most grateful to Dr Steve Murdoch (St. Andrews University) and Professor Arthur Williamson (California State University, Sacramento) for their comments on this essay. Dr Murdoch also kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of his book, *Network North*.

² For a broad introduction see Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanised Scots,” pp. 53–103. Factors that influenced the Scottish diaspora’s cohesiveness have been thoroughly discussed by Murdoch, *Network North* as well as by Catterall, “At Home Abroad,” pp. 319–57.

³ Tomkowicz, “Przyczynek do historii Szkotów,” pp. 151–74; Bieniarzówna

status and about internal relations within their ethnic, confessional and urban communities. These questions are currently being investigated as part of the author's research on the Scots in Little Poland through to the mid-seventeenth century.

In 1509, the first Scot was admitted to the capital's urban corporation, initiating a process that continued up to the Swedish invasion of Poland-Lithuania in 1655. As a result of the invasion, Kraków experienced a two-year occupation, an economic disaster from which the city never fully recovered. Even then, however, this so-called "Swedish Deluge" did not entirely put an end to the Scottish presence in the city.⁴

City records and, above all, citizenship admission books (*libri iuris civilis*)⁵ form the basis for this research. Selections from the Kraków council minutes and from the toll registers as well as from the Aberdeen city records have been examined to verify the data from the admission books. Although the Scots burgesses' names collected from the latter sources have already been published,⁶ the editors omitted a number of entries or else so abbreviated them that they cannot be used in this study.

The urban corporation comprised two groups of citizens: the patriciate and the commonalty. Civic rights entitled an individual to develop his business as a craftsman or a merchant and enjoy all the economic and political privileges the corporation offered to its members. The privileges were substantial, giving citizens a huge fiscal advantage over simple inhabitants (*incolae*), who comprised the majority of the population. As might be expected, citizenship was readily accessible to the sons of merchants, craftsmen and professionals such as physicians or apothecaries who were already members of the corporation. Yet individuals of lower status and newcomers were not necessarily excluded.⁷

and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*; Belzyt, "Grupy etniczne w Krakowie," pp. 469–70; Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga*, pp. 279–81 and *passim*. Moreover, local ethnic relations have been analysed by Karin Friedrich, "Nationale Identität und Pluralität," pp. 60–79; Friedrich, "Cives Cracoviae," pp. 143–61; Samsonowicz, "Gesellschaftliche Pluralität," pp. 117–30.

⁴ See Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland*. There is an abbreviated version of this publication available online at <http://www.electricscotland.com/history/poland/cracow1.htm>.

⁵ *LICC* 1; *LICC* 2; AmKr, MSs 1424, 1425, 1427, 1431.

⁶ Ptaśnik, "Kupcy," pp. 112–16; Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland*, pp. 39–58 and *passim*.

⁷ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast*, pp. 31–38; cf. Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa*, pp. 454–69; Cowan, *Urban Europe*, pp. 51–92.

The procedure of granting citizenship included verification of one's legitimate birth, payment of a fee to the city, and taking an oath of allegiance to the corporation. Apart from these indispensable requirements,⁸ there were still further obligations. New citizens needed to purchase real estate within the city, and they had either to indicate their commitment to getting married or else bring their spouses with them to the city. During the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, applicants were expected to be co-religionists of the majority; otherwise, they had to declare their willingness to convert to the dominant religion. Although in theory all these conditions needed to be fulfilled by new citizens in Kraków, the religious requirement could normally be met by only token conformity or was ignored altogether.

Scots arrivals and applicants for civic rights in Kraków

Table 1 shows 78 names of Scots who purchased Kraków citizenship between 1509 and 1655, whose nationality was specifically stated in the admission books.⁹ The list includes 28 merchants, and 43 Scots were noted in the admission registers without reference to their occupation. However, the Kraków toll registers identify as merchants the following local burgesses: John Forbes, Thomas Dixon, Thomas Robertson, Adam Legan (Logan), John Burneth, Bartholomew Burnath, Andrew Hunter (Honter), William Paterson, Alexander Dixon (Dickson), Thomas Dixon, William Torri, Gasper Huntter and Alexander Backhall.¹⁰ This shows that mercantile activity was dominant among the Kraków Scots with at least 52.6 per cent of them being traders.

All applicants, except the sons of citizens, were required to pay the admission fee. Until 29 August, 1588, this was relatively small, only 48

⁸ They were binding in all the territories under German law. See Grosjean and Murdoch, "The Scottish Community," p. 196. On the unity of burgher customs in those areas, Samsonowicz, "Die Rolle der hanseatischen Kultur in Preußen," pp. 567–73.

⁹ Belzyt, *Kraków i Praga*, p. 279 mentions 42 Scots who were granted citizenship from 1573 through to 1611. Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots in Poland*, p. 39 includes a John Alandt, who moved from Gdańsk (Danzig) in 1592, but was entered in the admission book with no nationality reference; *LICC* 2, no. 1798. Similarly, the national status of a Valentine Walker, a vegetable tanning master who was admitted in 1549 is unclear; *LICC* 1, no. 2574. In the same year, "Sebastianus Walker de Posnania" was also noted; *LICC* 1, no. 2587. Black, *The surnames of Scotland*, pp. 798–99 mentions the latter surname.

¹⁰ AmKr, Regestra thelonci, MS 2117, p. 245 and *passim*; MS 2139, pp. 14, 43, 85, 104, 208, 342; MS 2140, pp. 6, 14, 15, 18, 118, 303, 307.

grossi which was 1 mark, or sometimes 60 *grossi*. Thereafter foreigners were charged from 10 to 40 Polish *florins* with 1 *florin* equal to 30 *grossi*. The payment was set on the basis of an applicant's wealth. According to the city council, the 1588 increase in the admission charge was necessary because of the recent monetary devaluation. At the same time, there was a significant influx of Italian and Scottish merchants into the city. Because of the devaluation the new merchants had acquired citizenship, including the much-valued exemption from toll duties, practically for free.¹¹ On 17 April, 1589, "a new perpetual duty" on all foreign merchants who transported goods to or from the city was granted by the *Sejm*. The new law profited the city considerably because income from the duty no longer went to the royal treasury, but was declared *ad usum et munitiones civitatis*.¹²

The variation in fees charged for citizenship was not the result of purely arbitrary action by the city. The law sought to set the rates commensurate with the expected profits occupations could yield. Consequently, merchants and goldsmiths at the top of this fiscal hierarchy were asked to pay more. Apart from the supposed profitability of his trade, an applicant's actual material standing was also considered. Protection of city dignitaries could further help to reduce one's financial burden. When setting a charge, the city authorities only rarely listed the reasons for their decision.

Seldom were the payments made in Polish *florins* because of the currency's increasing devaluation. Thus, in general, "hard" currency was in use: ducats (*aurei Ungaricales* or red florins), Hungarian *florins*, and *thalers*. Although the variety of currencies makes any comparisons problematic, the data do help in assessing the candidates' material statuses. In 1600 the council decided that every foreign *negotiator seu mercator* should donate a weapon to the city armory. Six years later the councillors added that the weapon had to be a musket with gunpowder.¹³

Undoubtedly, such items reflected a merchant's material status. Thus, it seems that the majority of Scots admitted to the corporation could not have been drawn from the many wandering Scottish peddlers who carried goods on their backs or on horses. After 1634, three series of admission records were adopted that listed newcomers according to

¹¹ *LICC* 2, pp. x–xi. Kraków citizens were exempted from most duties. Małecki, "Krakowskie księgi celne," pp. 256–59; Małecki in co-operation with Szlufik, *Jewish Trade in Kraków*, pp. 44–46.

¹² Małecki, "Krakowskie księgi celne," pp. 257–58.

¹³ *LICC* 2, pp. x–xvi.

“three orders” that is as merchants, masters of the most profitable crafts, and masters of inferior crafts together with stallholders.¹⁴ No Scot was admitted to civic rights between 1634 and 1655 from the third category. At the same time it is hard to determine which of the Scottish immigrants began their careers in Poland as itinerant traders and subsequently raised their social standing, and which of them arrived with significant assets. Both possibilities must be considered because both the well-off and the impoverished migrated from Scotland.¹⁵

Municipal authorities either in a person's hometown or in his last place of residence issued *litteræ recommendatoriæ* or *litteræ genealogiæ* to prove his legitimate birth and social position. The birthbrieves presented by the Kraków Scots were such documents (see Table 1). In the twelve-year period from the introduction of the new fees, that is from 1589 to 1600, five merchants who presented their birthbrieves within two years from their issue were charged 5 *florins*. Among the applicants so charged was Andrew Angus, who applied and obtained his certificate of citizenship after residing six years in Poland.¹⁶ However, William Henderson is an example of those who applied for citizenship after only two years. For unspecified reasons, he was charged far more than the average applicant.

Only 6 *florins* was demanded from Lawrence Smart whose birthbrieve had been issued more than five years before he applied for Kraków citizenship. Robert Burnet, who had been abroad for at least eighteen months, and John Chalmer, whose certificate had been issued by the Aberdeen city council almost seven years before his application, paid 8 *florins*. Thomas Rolland, an Aberdonian from a New Town merchant family,¹⁷ who must have been abroad for at least two years, was charged 11 *fl* 6 *grossi*, that is not excessively. Six of the nine applicants who intended to become citizens in two years and more after the issuing of their birthbrieves paid high fees (Table 1). Applicants were certainly rated according to their status.

¹⁴ *LICC* 1, p. viii; *LICC* 2, p. xxiv.

¹⁵ For more on that, see Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanised Scots,” pp. 65–68, 71–72. For valuable insights on these aspects of migration see Murdoch, *Network North*, pp. 129–43 and *passim*.

¹⁶ Taylor, *Testimonialis*, II, no. 101.

¹⁷ William Alexander and Thomas Rolland called at the city council in 1570; ACA, Register of Deeds, 1st Series, I: 1567–1575, fols. 26r–27v. On 5 October, 1639, James Rolland, William's brother, was described as “sometyme burges of the said burk [that is Aberdeen] and citizen in Dantsk.” *Ibidem*, VIII, 1637–1648, pp. 99–103.

Four of seventeen merchants that applied for Kraków citizenship from 1600 to the 1620s, that is to the decade of continual pestilence, might have been in Poland even less than two years, as can be inferred from the issue dates of their documents. In a relatively short time, arrivals from among this group may have accumulated sufficient assets, possibly as peddlers, to apply for Kraków citizenship. Seven traders who had been dwelling in Poland over two years possessed considerable capital that had possibly been earned there, although some of the merchants may also have had assets in Scotland. One such case was James Dromont, *civis ac negotiator Cracoviensis, ex familia magnifici baronis de Bortland oriundus*.¹⁸ Only three of 15 Scottish merchants admitted between 1601 and 1620 paid minimal sums, that is 5 or 10 *florins*, which were far below the usual fees. Those three traders presumably were relatively poor, but one of them might have lived in Poland for only a rather short time.

In the 1620s, twenty-one Scots became Kraków citizens. Only three of them were charged a low rate, that is 6, 10 and 12 *florins*. Other fees testify to the well-being of the applicants, even though both the sums and currencies varied widely. The group of immigrants with certificates issued about two years before their applications included Robert Cramer, an Aberdonian, who paid only 10 *forins*, and George Guthry from Elgin, who was charged 60 *florins*. Other Scottish merchants who settled in Kraków before 1655 paid varying but always significant fees.

An analysis of the sources will not yield firm conclusions about how immigrants improved their material status. Table 2 speaks to the issue of the time between Kraków citizenship admission and birthbrief issue. 58.1 per cent of the Scots presented certificates published no more than thirty six months before they applied to the Kraków city council, and this group comprises the majority of minimal fee payers. Surely, newcomers could have been part of this category, but there are no grounds to maintain that the majority had left Scotland three to four years before they arrived in Kraków.¹⁹ Birthbriefs could have been obtained by relatives in Scotland who represented their kindred living abroad. Aberdeen city council records document such requests, and many of them were presented in the names of those who had left Scotland ten or even twenty years before. Teenagers and even children

¹⁸ AmKr, Consularia, MS 455, pp. 692–93.

¹⁹ The application procedure made candidates stay in Kraków 1 year and 6 weeks before their acceptance; Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast*, p. 38.

frequently turned to emigration. Patrick Gordon, the author of the famous *Diary*, seems to be a case in point. Having given up school in Prussia, he faced the choice of becoming either a trader or a mercenary.²⁰ It was a common practice of Aberdeen city council scriveners to skip the name of the place from which an applicant sought his birthbrieve. General descriptions like, “now traveland in ye kyngdome of poiil,” “resident within the kingdome of Poll,” “now leiving in the kingdom of Poll,” “merchand travelland within the Kingome of Poly,” and “merchant travelline in Prussia” are common. Apart from these few references, the norm is only blank spaces instead of the names of cities or even countries.²¹ Seven Scottish birthbrieves were issued by city authorities in the Polish Crown lands and Silesia. Both the Aberdeen and Kraków sources show that migration long continued to reinforce the Scottish presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As foreign merchants often changed the places they lived, those of them who applied for citizenship were required to settle down in the city.²²

The immigrants' places of origin: in search of socioeconomic backgrounds

Table 3 shows that the Scottish towns and cities whose authorities issued birthbrieves for the early modern Kraków immigrants were mostly harbours on the east coast and settlements lying close to the eastern coastline such as Brechin and Elgin. This supports earlier observations that arrivals in Poland hailed mostly from eastern and north-eastern Scotland.²³ Birsay (Orkney) and Dumfries (Western Borders) are exceptions. Immigrants from Aberdeen, both the new town and the old one, were numerically the strongest. They constituted over 38 per cent of all the Scots citizens in Kraków. Andrew Honter (or Hunter), who was admitted to civic rights in 1609, ten years later served the Aberdeen city council as its factor.²⁴ Other Scottish settlements are represented in the Kraków admission books with far smaller numbers of birthbrieves. The Aberdeen documents were issued not only for burgesses but also for inhabitants of the hinterland.²⁵

²⁰ *Passages from the Diary*, pp. 11–14. Cf. Biegańska, “Andrew Davidson,” p. 14.

²¹ ACA, Propinquity book, MS with no signature, fols. 9v–56v; *Testimonialis, passim*; *SpCBB*, pp. 325–67; *Records of the Sheriff Court*, II, p. 53; *ibidem*, III, p. 35.

²² *LICC* 2, p. xii; cf. Cowan, *Urban Europe*, pp. 87–89.

²³ Biegańska, “A Note on the Scots in Poland,” p. 157.

²⁴ *ACL*, I, nos. 167, 168.

²⁵ Ditchburn and Harper, “Aberdeen and the Outside World,” p. 395.

Table 3 lists the ports and the numbers of merchants leaving them. These data coincide only in some respects with the cities' participation in Scotland's Baltic trade from the fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Aberdeen's share in that trade was never significant, and at the end of the sixteenth century ships bound for the Baltic left that port only sporadically. This situation reversed, however, at the outset of the seventeenth century. Baltic harbours, and particularly Gdańsk, became Aberdeen's second partner in terms of commercial activity. Imports from the Baltic increased especially from 1615 through to 1624.²⁶

Although vessels sailed regularly between Gdańsk and other Baltic harbours and Dundee, the latter city was not overrepresented in Kraków. It was the source of only 7.7 per cent of the Scots' total. The Kraków sources do not mention Montrose, whose role in the Baltic trade was small in the sixteenth century, but significant in the seventeenth. No burgess of Anstruther is known to have settled in Kraków, and St. Andrews is represented only by one newcomer. The commercial significance of these ports grew at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century.²⁷ Thus the origin and the numbers of the Scots in Kraków hardly reflected the importance of the places they migrated from.

An attempt to explain the influx of Scots into Poland from the perspective of Scotland's economy leads to more questions than answers. No direct connection between the inflationary price revolution and emigration can be observed. Between 1550 and 1600, grain prices in Scotland rose six-fold and the inflation accelerated in the two last decades of the sixteenth century. The population growth that followed the late medieval demographic crises slowed down probably between 1590 and 1620. After 1550 urban development in the country increased the demand for goods, both manufactured in Scotland and imported. The demand revitalized crafts and commerce. Aberdeen was one of the cities that profited from the growth.²⁸ During the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century the urban population increased,

²⁶ Macniven, "Merchants and traders," pp. 57–63; cf. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 151, 159–60, 176–80.

²⁷ Ditchburn and Harper, "Aberdeen and the Outside World," pp. 378, 380, 390; Blanchard *et al.*, "The Economy: Town and Country," pp. 161, 166; Lythe, "Scottish Trade with the Baltic," pp. 69–71; Riis, "Long Distance Trade or Tramping," pp. 59–75. See also Guy, "The Scottish Export Trade," p. 62.

²⁸ Macniven, "Merchants and traders," pp. 57–69; Tyson, "The Economy and Social Structure," pp. 38–56.

but the majority of people still lived in the country.²⁹ After 1550 many landowners all over Lowland Scotland became heavily and increasingly indebted.³⁰ Thus only a small part of Scottish society participated in the economic expansion. The situation was aptly evaluated by the historian Samuel G. E. Lythe: “[I]nternal conditions in Scotland for much of the sixteenth century were conducive neither to the accumulation of capital nor to long-term commercial thinking. Scottish external trade was operated on the assumption of short voyages and a rapid turn-over of stock, and consequently involved relatively little commercial risk and only the most elementary credit arrangements.”³¹ This opinion still seems valid when compared with David Ditchburn’s findings.³² However, Steve Murdoch’s recent reevaluation of seventeenth and eighteenth century Scots’ commercial structures and the range and volume of Scottish trade, makes a further search for Polish-Lithuanian connections altogether necessary. The northern commercial network that this author has revealed must have stretched much further south than the Gdańsk community of Scots.³³

Not much has been written about the role of wealthy Scottish merchants in Poland’s seaborne and overland trade. The activities of peddlers from Scotland in the Commonwealth’s economy are far better known.³⁴ Both humble Scottish peddlers and wealthier traders participated in the mass distribution of English textiles.³⁵ Some of them could even have been involved in money-lending and currency exchange.³⁶ They must have cooperated with affluent merchants who needed citizenship to lower the costs of their commercial activity.³⁷ These hypotheses

²⁹ “[U]rban population can scarcely have been much above an eighth of total Scottish population...” in the 1640s; Flinn *et al.*, *Scottish Population History*, p. 147 and *passim*; Whyte, “Population Mobility,” pp. 43–44.

³⁰ The social and economic outline has been summarized following Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, pp. 5–14 and *passim*; Guy, “The Scottish Export Trade,” p. 67; Houston and Whyte, “Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective,” pp. 1–36; Lynch, *Scotland. A New History*, pp. 171–85; Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, pp. 147, 182–87.

³¹ Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland*, pp. 65–66.

³² Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 195–196.

³³ Murdoch, *Network North*, pp. 240–48 and *passim*.

³⁴ Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanised Scots,” pp. 82–83 and *passim*.

³⁵ Lythe, “Scottish Trade with the Baltic,” p. 66; cf. Bogucka, “The Role of Baltic Trade,” p. 13. Cf. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 182–83; Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanised Scots,” p. 72.

³⁶ Jeannin, “The Sea-borne and the Overland Trade Routes,” p. 56.

³⁷ Cf. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 73–99, 161–66; Murdoch, *Network North*, *passim*.

need verification through further systematic examination of city records, including those concerned with immigration to Kraków.

Cives, incolæ and the immigration's progress

As Table 1 shows, only James Morrisen and his son Martin had been admitted to the city corporation by the 1570s. Pieces of information culled from various source collections suggest that a considerable number of Scots dwelt in the capital in the sixteenth century, and that not all of them were sojourners.³⁸ However, the fragmentary sources make it possible only to trace the chronology of the Scots presence in aggregate. In the 1560s “merchants of the Scottish nation” collected funds among themselves at fairs to support the local Evangelical church.³⁹ On the other hand *Scoti, incolæ Cracovienses* are seldom documented in the city records.⁴⁰

Table 4 shows that most Scots applied for Kraków citizenship in the 1590s and in the 1620s. More general observations of the migration waves suggest that the largest numbers of Scots entered Poland from the 1570s through the early 1600s, with the climaxes in the 1580s, and in the 1610s.⁴¹ A decade shift between the highest totals of immigrants coming into Poland in general and into Kraków in particular, might have resulted from the fact that they arrived in the capital after a few years spent in other Prussian or Polish settlements. On the other hand, there has been little evidence as yet to indicate that citizenship applications are representative of the whole Scots settlement in Kraków. “The Scots stalls” in the Main Square, which are well documented from the early 1590s, probably existed there a long time before they appeared in the records.⁴² In 1593, a Scot named William ran an inn

³⁸ AmKr, *Acta damnarum seu maleficorum alias smola*, 1554–1625, MS 864, p. 77; *Księgi szosu*, MS 2513, p. 16; Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, pp. 235–36; Kiryk, *Cechowe rzemiosło*, p. 418.

³⁹ Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ AmKr, *Scabinalia inscriptiones*, MS 28, pp. 746–48; MS 29, pp. 883–84; *Consularia*, MS 457, p. 819.

⁴¹ Biegańska, “A Note on the Scots in Poland,” pp. 158–59.

⁴² Barycz, *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego*, pp. 93–94, narrates attempts at setting the Scottish stalls on fire during anti-Protestant riots in 1591. On 25 March, 1595, a Kraków customs officer noted down tax income collected from the Scots at the Square; AmKr, *Regestra thelonci*, MS 2119, p. 201. On 5 May of the same year goods were transported from Rzeszów for John Mory, Martin Rither, John from Klech [- -] “*i innem Sotom, co będą na Rynku*,” (and for other Scots in the Square); *ibidem*, p. 238.

in Bracka St. that was frequented by his compatriots.⁴³ In addition, the institutions that had shaped the city's medieval economy and social framework had entered on a steep and relentless decline by the close of the fifteenth century.⁴⁴

Another reason why the size of the Kraków Scottish community is uncertain comes from the fact that the citizenship admission records are incomplete. Fourteen traders are not found in the *libris iuris civilis Cracoviensis*, but are identified as Scots and *cives Cracovienses* in other city records from the years 1592 to 1618.⁴⁵ The admission books have been compared only with a selection of customs registers from the years 1591–6, 1617–8 and 1649. Numerous cases appear from various times and places showing that merchants were active even in big cities for many years and yet declined to make the investment needed to obtain formal corporation rights.⁴⁶ The incompleteness of such registers cannot have resulted so regularly from the incompetence of city clerks alone, but neither would such omissions have been altogether impossible. This might be the case with Albert Kin, a goldsmith. From 1598 onwards he appeared at the city hall to provide surety for Scottish applicants. In 1600, he confirmed a 600 *florins* spousal donation he had once declared to councillors of the satellite town of Kazimierz. Six years later, he was an elder of the guild of Kraków metal craftsmen.⁴⁷

In 1612, Albert Kin and Alexander Dixon were invited by Kraków councillors to verify a birthbriefe that had been issued for Alexander Cuschnye,⁴⁸ a Raków⁴⁹ burgess, and then presented to them by Bartholomew Burneth (Bernath). He hoped to inherit from the late Cuschnye. The town asked for an official opinion about the credibility of the parchment charter and its seal. Kin and Dixon stated that they

⁴³ AmKr, Regestra thelonci, MS 2117, p. 762.

⁴⁴ At the same time, that process went on in various parts of Europe. The problems it created have been discussed recently by Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*.

⁴⁵ AmKr, Regestra thelonci: MS 2116, fol. 84; MS 2117, p. 762; MS 2118, fol. 108, 127; MS 2119, p. 308; MS 2139, pp. 22, 135, 230, 243, 253, 322; MS 2140, pp. 6, 56; Scabinalia inscriptiones: MS 28, p. 786; MS 29, pp. 760–62, 768.

⁴⁶ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast*, pp. 26, 64, 65; Ditchburn and Harper, "Aberdeen and the Outside World," p. 395; Grosjean and Murdoch, "The Scottish Community," pp. 205–206.

⁴⁷ Kiryk, *Cechowe rzemiosło*, p. 416; AmKr, Consularia, MS 455, pp. 723–24; MS 458, p. 538.

⁴⁸ A surname from the place of this name in the parish of Leochel, Aberdeenshire. Black, *The surnames of Scotland*, p. 194.

⁴⁹ Raków was a private town in Little Poland and a famous anti-Trinitarian centre. Séguenny, "Raków," pp. 385–86.

were genuine.⁵⁰ This case shows that they knew the chancery practice of New Aberdeen's provost and council, and had been called as experts on similar occasions. Such scrutiny allows one to infer that birthbrieves could at times have been forged. This may be relevant for the certificates presented by Robert Dickson and Robert Burnet. Dickson showed a birthbrieve with the issue date of 8 July, 1596, and Burnet's document was dated 23 January, 1597 (Table 1). However, neither certificate was transcribed into the Aberdeen city council's register. This source, whose oldest extant part dates from 1589–1603, names Andro Burnet, George Horne (who died in December, 1596), John Davidsone and Ronald Kyng as Kraków burgesses,⁵¹ although no such names appear in the *libris iuris civilis Cracoviensis*. Moreover, an incomplete list of members of the Kraków Evangelical-Reformed Congregation in 1648 includes, among other Scottish names, William Huyson and Gerard Delene, although they could have been only *incole*.⁵²

From Aberdeen to Kraków

The registers suggest that Scots arrived in Kraków in considerable numbers and applied for citizenship from the early 1570s. This corresponds to the general rise in immigration into the Republic during this period.⁵³ The growth could have been spurred by severe economic crises, famine and pestilence that reoccurred regularly in Scotland from 1562.⁵⁴ The same year, however, the *Sejm* passed a law which required foreign traders, and especially Italians and Scots in Kraków, to apply for citizenship. This may have resulted in a more accurate documentation of these groups.⁵⁵ The crises of the 1590s and of the 1620s, "drove people off the land for good in areas such as Aberdeenshire,"⁵⁶ which may help to explain the fact that over 55 per cent of the Aberdonians in Kraków applied for citizenship between the 1580s and the 1610s (Tables 1 and

⁵⁰ "[c]ivitatibus predictae Abredonie sigillum, quam plurimaeque eiusmodi sigilla circa diversas litteras eiusdem civitatis vidisse et conspexisse retulerunt et testificantur sunt." AmKr, Consularia, MS 458, pp. 78–79.

⁵¹ *Testimonialis*, nos. 38, 116, 123, 141.

⁵² Węsierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego*, p. 115.

⁵³ Biegańska, "A Note on the Scots in Poland," pp. 158–59.

⁵⁴ Smout, "Famine and Famine-relief," p. 22; Flinn *et al.*, *Scottish Population History*, p. 109; Gibson and Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast*, p. 69.

⁵⁶ Houston and Whyte, "Introduction: Scottish Society in Perspective," pp. 16–17.

3). A considerable number of them seem to have applied after only a few years spent away from Scotland. Although they contributed varying fees to the city coffers, the sums they paid always suggest relatively good material standing, and those charged with the lowest payments seem to have begun their career as peddlers. The fact that conspicuously high fees were demanded from those who arrived in large numbers in the city in the 1620s, a decade of famine and pestilence in Scotland, seems to indicate the promise of favourable economic prospects at that time within the Polish Commonwealth. From the 1580s through to the 1630s it was extremely difficult to enter the merchants' guild in Aberdeen. Moreover, it was almost impossible to join the patriciate whose families had governed the city for generations up to the 1638 war.⁵⁷ Fewer than 20 per cent of those who applied for birthbrieves and were recorded in the 1589–1603 Propinquity Book, that is in a cartulary with copies of such certificates, were burgesses of Old and New Aberdeen.⁵⁸ In 1637–1655, the townspeople constituted at least 30 per cent of the applicants to the provost and the council.⁵⁹ From 1589 to 1603, over 70 per cent of those who were issued birthbrieves in Aberdeen chose Poland-Lithuania and Prussia,⁶⁰ but these lands were the destination of only just over 50 per cent of Aberdonians living abroad in 1637–1655 (Table 5). It seems possible that the decrease in the immigrants' number was somehow connected with the acts of the Polish *Sejm* in 1629 and 1634 that restricted access to citizenship for itinerant traders, including Scots.⁶¹ After 1636, the Kraków sources list only two Aberdonians, George Crukschank, who moved from Tarnów, and James Chalmer (Table 1). Both of them must have arrived in the Commonwealth before 1637 because they are not listed in the second part of the Propinquity Book. This source mentions two Scots as residing in Kraków: John Auchneiese and William Forbes. John Auchneiese, a son of James who was an Aberdeen burgess, received a legitimate birth certificate in 1641.⁶² However, he either did not apply for Kraków citizenship or was refused because he was not included in the *Libro iuris civilis*. William Forbes, a son of Robert of Park of Kelly [?], who was

⁵⁷ Macniven, "Merchants and traders," pp. 64–68.

⁵⁸ Ditchburn and Harper, "Aberdeen and the Outside World," p. 395.

⁵⁹ ACA, Propinquity book, *passim*; *SpCBB*, *passim*.

⁶⁰ Ditchburn and Harper, "Aberdeen and the Outside World," p. 396.

⁶¹ Gierszewski, *Obywatele miast*, p. 69; Lynch, "Continuity and Change," p. 87.

⁶² ACA, Propinquity book, fol. 19.

known as a Kraków merchant in Aberdeen in 1645, was not listed in the register either.⁶³

The religious aspects of social status in the city

Table 5 shows that the Scots were ca. 1.5 per cent of all those admitted to the urban corporation between 1517 and 1655. Most of the Scottish immigrants probably were of the Reformed faith. Roman Catholics must have been the minority.⁶⁴ Anti-Protestant brawls were started systematically by Kraków Catholics throughout the period, but such violent acts were particularly common from 1574 through to 1598.⁶⁵ It does not seem, however, that these incidents discouraged Evangelicals as a group from settling down, although some Protestant burghers left Kraków for Toruń and Gdańsk after the 1615 attacks.⁶⁶ Kraków probably was not a destination of those affluent refugees from the Covenanting government who in 1646 fled to the Continent and chose to settle in Poland.⁶⁷ Nor did any representatives of the seventeenth century Aberdeen elite arrive in Kraków.⁶⁸ Until the 1630s, financial obligations, mainly loans, between the local Scots or between them and other townsfolk only occasionally exceeded 500 *florins*, and the sums were usually no higher than 200 *florins*. Research into Kraków foreign trade at the beginning of the seventeenth century has led to the conclusion that only three Scots, William Smith, William Hendrisson and Albert Kin, can be included in the group of 185 wealthy Kraków merchants.⁶⁹ This cannot be a complete list, however. John Mora owned one of the so-called “opulent” stalls in the city centre.⁷⁰ In the 1620s, William Peterson had business dealings with Wrocław butchers worth over 1,000 imperial *thalers*.⁷¹ These rich individuals comprised,

⁶³ ACA, Propinquity Book, fols. 28v–29.

⁶⁴ AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, p. 580.

⁶⁵ Bieniarzówna and Kubisz, *400 lat Reformacji*; Żelewski, “Zaburzenia wyznaniowe W Krakowie.”

⁶⁶ Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego*, p. 70.

⁶⁷ *ACL*, III, no. 52, p. 44 (1646).

⁶⁸ Cf. Macniven, “Merchants and traders,” pp. 57–58; Devine, “The Merchant Class of the Larger Scottish Towns,” p. 101.

⁶⁹ Obuchowska-Pysiowa, *Udział Krakowa*.

⁷⁰ AmKr, Scabinalia Inscriptiones, MS 26, pp. 8–9; AmKr, Consularia, MS 455, p. 180.

⁷¹ AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, p. 714 and also pp. 858, 1031.

however, less than 10 per cent of the whole Kraków Scots community from 1570 to 1630.

The registers of the 1643 merchant poll tax as well as that of the famous 1651 Stuart tithe leave no doubt that Andrew Frazer, James Carmichael, Albert Blackall, George Crukschank and William Thore must have been wealthy people with property estimated at between 1,000 and 6,795 imperial *thalers*.⁷² All of them, except possibly Crukschank, were granted citizenship before 1626. Taken together, they could have been as much as 30 per cent of the entire Kraków Scots burghess community.⁷³

It seems that Scottish immigrants to the city began playing an important role in local Protestant circles no earlier than 1616. In that year John Barbier, a goldsmith, and Alexander Dixon were elected auditors to examine the accounts of the local Reformed congregation. These burgesses belonged to the financial elite of the pre-Deluge city and were atop the congregational hierarchy as well. Probably no earlier than the 1640s, Scots were numbered among the official representatives of the local Evangelical Church.⁷⁴ It was undoubtedly easier to have a high-profile with co-religionists in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century. In 1637, there were about 300 Calvinist burghers altogether in the Kraków agglomeration, while about 1568, the climactic year of the Little Poland Reformation, the total of members of various non-Catholic denominations could have even been 3,000 or about 10 per cent of the population. In 1568, a list of “heretics” living in the downtown parish of St. Mary was compiled. The source speaks only about “the elite,” that is about a hundred individuals, and only one Scot, the Aberdonian John Alanth, is among them.⁷⁵ Evangelical Scots did not join the city council, unlike their co-religionists who became councillors through the protection afforded them by the noble governors of the

⁷² Tomkowicz, “Przyczynek do historii Szkotów,” p. 169; Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, p. 204; Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish Subsidy,” pp. 20–21.

⁷³ Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego*, p. 115 and Tables 1 and 2. The percentage refers to the estimated total of burghess families.

⁷⁴ Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego*, pp. 71, 115 and *passim*. Scots are not listed among *senioribus Communitatis Evangelicorum* in 1595 and in 1599; AmKr, Scabinalia, MS 26, pp. 498–99; MS 27, p. 681. There are no Scots in the group of Evangelicals who represented their community at the city hall in 1625; AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, pp. 578–79.

⁷⁵ Waclaw Urban ed., ‘Heretycy parafii Mariackiej w Krakowie w 1568 r.,’ *OiRwP* 32 (1987): 167–177.

Kraków royal demesne.⁷⁶ This is another indication that the Scots were neither numerically nor materially strong within the sixteenth century Kraków Protestant community. In the seventeenth century, belonging to a Protestant congregation barred one from council office in Kraków, although the rule was not strictly enforced. Until the end of the sixteenth century Scottish candidates for burgess status were recommended not only by their own countrymen but also by burghers of German and Polish background. Even assessors of the city court could number among the nominators. Such connections show the close contacts within the urban upper strata. Whether they continued into the seventeenth century, at the moment it is simply impossible to know.

Conclusions

The Scots who were admitted to the Kraków city corporation before the mid-seventeenth century Swedish invasion were mainly first generation newcomers. Before application they had managed to accumulate considerable assets, and probably a minority of them began their mercantile careers as peddlers.

The pattern of Scottish immigration into Kraków does not indicate any evident, underlying cause. No political, social, or economic development in Scotland can be readily linked to it. However, similar research into Scots communities in other Polish cities may lead to more general conclusions about possible “push and pull” factors.

In the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century conditions were favourable for a rapid rise to prosperity within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and apparently a number of Scots merchants knew how to avail themselves of those possibilities.

⁷⁶ Noga, *Krakowska rada*, pp. 180–92.

Table 1: Scots admitted to the Kraków urban community, by dates of admission, 1509–1655

No.	Name	Place of origin	Date of admission	Date of birth-brieve issue	Profession	Admission fee
1	James Morissen	Dundee	1509	•	•	60 gr
2	Martin Morissen ⁷⁷	Kraków	1546.05.20	—	•	—
3	John Alanth ⁷⁸	Aberdeen	1573.10.16	•	•	2 fl
4	Peter Tukolko von Santon	Saughton, Edinburgh	1575.01.29	•	•	2 fl
5	David Dundas	St. Andrews	1576.05.12	•	•	2 fl
6	Thomas de Dumfrais	Dumfries	1576.10.01	•	•	1 / 12 mc
7	Andrew Dziowski	Edinburgh	1577.05.06	•	•	2 fl
8	Hercules Renth	Erbroth [Arbroath] ⁷⁹	1579.10.24	•	•	2 fl
9	John Morcha	Letha [Letham]	1580.04.30	•	•	1 mc
10	Daniel Ingrame	Aberdeen	1585.07.31	1581.01.26	•	2 fl
11	William Forbes	•	1585.09.04	•	merchant	2 fl
12	Bernard Mora	Culross	1586.12.10	1586.08.26	merchant	2 fl
13	John Forbes	Aberdeen	1588.06.03	1587.05.10	•	2 fl
14	Thomas Wricht (Vriht)	Aberdeen	1589.05.26	1587.05.27	merchant	11 / 14 fl Un
15	John Craig	Aberdeen	1589.10.27	1587.06.02	merchant	10 fl Un
16	George Sterlin	Dundee	1591.04.05	1591.03.15 ⁸⁰	merchant	5 fl
17	David Ledel	Brechin, Tayside	1592.02.21	1593.06.05 ⁸¹	•	5 fl
18	John Baptist Mora	Culross, Fife	1592.06.11	1586.09.26	merchant	10 fl Un
19	William Dalglisz	•	1593.12.23	•	•	10 fl
20	Robert Dickson	Aberdeen	1595.10.27	1595.06.27	tailor	5 fl
21	John Chalmer	Aberdeen	1596.11.28	1589.09.29	merchant	8 fl
22	Andrew Angus	Aberdeen	1597.01.03	1596.07.08	•	5 fl
23	James Drumonth	Sterling	1597.11.20	1582.03.22	merchant	10 fl
24	Thomas Dixon	Kraków ⁸²	1597.12.15	—	•	10 th
25	James Jochnstoun	Aberdeen	1598.01.16	1597.07.04	stallholder	5 fl
26	Thomas Rolland	Aberdeen	1598.05.26	1596.03.03	merchant	11 / 6 fl
27	Robert Burnet	Aberdeen	1598.06.01	1597.01.23	•	8 fl
28	Lawrence Smart	Dunfermline, Fife [Kleparz]	1598.06.03	1593.03.20	•	6 fl
29	John Udney	Aberdeen	1598.10.24	1594.06.15	merchant	10 fl Un

⁷⁷ James's son.⁷⁸ The editors read 'Alauth'; *LICC* 2, no. 34. The surname Alan (Alowne) was written down in the Aberdeen city records in 1446; Black, *The surnames of Scotland*, p. 4.⁷⁹ *Hercules Renth de Erbroth, civitate Scotiæ, producto testimonio fidedignorum testium ex protocollo actorum civitatis Varszoviæ de data Sabbato ante festum divi Vincenti [17.01] anno 1573 ius civitatis suscepit, iuravit. Dedit florenos 2. Verum sese presentibus inscripsit et obligavit, quod pro festo S. Michaëlis [29.09] in anno 1580 futuro literas sufficientes legitime ortus sui allaturus et in unius anni spatio possessionem bonorum immobilium empturus; LICC* 2, no. 463.⁸⁰ He presented his birthbrieve on 21 June 1591; *LICC* 2, no. 1257.⁸¹ He presented his birthbrieve on 28 August 1593; *LICC* 2, no. 1286.⁸² [*e*]xhibito testimonio legitime ortus sui ex actis consularibus Cracoviensibus 13 Decembris anno currenti ius civitatis suscepit; *LICC* 2, no. 1762.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Place of origin	Date of admission	Date of birth-brieve issue	Profession	Admission fee
30	Patrick Orum	Aberdeen	1599.03.30	1596.02.07	merchant	20 fl
31	Alexander Diksone	Aberdeen	1599.03.30	1588.06.28	merchant	20 fl
32	William Henderson	Edinburgh	1600.12.20	1601.07.01 ⁸³	merchant	16 fl Un + b
33	Andrew Ihonstone	Dundee	1602.01.15	1600.08.30	trader	40 fl + b
34	Thomas Robertson	Perth	1604.09.23	1597.02.04	•	12 a Un + b
35	Adam Legan	Birgham, Borders	1606.10.21	1605.09.06	•	5 fl
36	Thomas Horam	Aberdeen	1607.12.12	1606.04.17	merchant	10 fl Un + b + 1 sp
37	John Burneth	Aberdeen	1608.01.12	1603.07.29	•	10 fl + b + 0,5 sp
38	George Elmslie	Aberdeen	1608.02.16	1598.03.06	merchant	18/16 fl ⁸⁴ + b + 0,5 sp
39	Bartholomew Burnath	Old Aberdeen ⁸⁵	1608.02.29 ⁸⁶	•	•	10 fl Un + b + 0,5 sp
40	Andrew Honter	•	1609.04.11	•	•	40 a Un + b + 0,5 sp
41	James Cien	•	1610.09.04	•	haberdasher	5 fl + b + 0,5 sp
42	William Paterson	Sterling	1611.03.28	1608.08.30	•	20 a Un + b + 0,5 sp
43	Gasper Kin	Kalisz	1614.04.24	1611.09.06	apothecary	40 fl + b + 1 sp
44	George Menzes	•	1616.09.08	•	•	30 fl + b + 2 sp
45	Daniel Forbes ⁸⁷	Kraków	1617.02.18	—	•	—
46	Thomas Burnet	Aberdeen	1617.09.02	1617.06.21	merchant	15 a Un + b + 1 sp
47	John Stranthantin	Aberdeen	1617.12.16	1617.01.21	merchant	10 a Un + b + 1 sp
48	James Kin	Kraków	1619.03.23	•	•	—
49	Peter Burnet	Kraków	1620.07.31	•	•	—
50	Gilbert Inness	•	1620.09.09	•	•	10 a Un + 2 sp
51	Robert Cramer	Aberdeen	1621.05.07	1619.04.12	•	10 fl + 0,5 sp
52	John Frier	Lublin	1621.12.11	1621.11.27	merchant	10 fl Un + b + 1 sp

⁸³ He presented the birthbrieve on 2 January 1602; *LICC* 2, nos 1929, 1963.

⁸⁴ [*a*] *quo domini habita ratione conflagrationis mercium ipsius in comitiis Varszoviensibus sumpserunt* [- -]; *LICC* 2, no. 2349.

⁸⁵ AmKr, MS 457, p. 31.

⁸⁶ His entry was written down in the minutes on 4 March 1608; *LICC* 2, no. 2351.

⁸⁷ Son of late William, a Kraków burgess; AmKr, *LICC*, Ms 1424, p. 78.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Place of origin	Date of admission	Date of birth-brieve issue	Profession	Admission fee
53	James Hoith	Kraków	1621.12.20	1621.12.15	•	12 fl + b + 1 sp
54	Alexander Cruschanke	Aberdeen	1622.09.09	•	•	16 fl Un + b + 2 sp
55	Albert Blackhall	Aberdeen	1622.09.09	•	•	16 fl Un + b + 2 sp
56	Alexander Dixon	Kraków	1623.06.09 ⁸⁸	X	•	–
57	James Clark	Aberdeen	1623.11.20	1621.04.04	•	40 fl + b + 1 sp
58	Thomas Dyxon	Kraków	1624.02.16	X	•	–
59	David Strachan	Dundee	1624.03.09	1621.08.01	goldsmith	6 fl
60	George Guthry	Elgin	1624.07.27	1622.05.28	merchant	60 fl + b + 1 sp
61	John Honter	Aberdeen	1624.09.28	1616.10.15 ⁸⁹	•	80 fl + b + 1 sp
62	William Harriesounce	Aberdeen	1625.03.11	1622.08.29	•	40 fl + b + 1 sp
63	Andrew Frazer	Aberdeen	1625.03.11	1610.06.06	•	40 fl + b + 1 sp
64	Albert Dyxon	Kraków	1625.04.23	–	goldsmith	–
65	Nathaniel Kieyth	Kraków	1625.09.24	–	merchant	50 fl + b + 1 sp
66	Alexander Robertson	Lublin	1625.10.11	1626.06.23 ⁹⁰	merchant	40 fl + b + 1 sp
67	James Karmichell	Dundee ⁹¹	1625.12.10	•	merchant	10 fl Un + b + 1 sp
68	Peter Wood	Aberdeen ⁹²	1625.12.10	•	merchant	10 fl Un + b + 1 sp
69	Walter Gryin	•	1626.09.12	•	•	60 fl + b + 0,5 sp
70	William Torri	Aberdeen	1626.09.26	1622.04.06	•	60 fl + b + 0,5 sp
71	William Weir	Widawa	1626.09.14	1627.01.18 ⁹³	•	100 fl + b + 1 sp

⁸⁸ [d]educti die hodiernae genealogia sua, ius civitas, praestito iuramento, suscepit. Nihil dedit, quoniam patricius; AmKr, LICC, Ms 1424, p. 175.

⁸⁹ On 31 December, 1624, he showed the city council his birthbrieve which he had pledged to present in three months; AmKr, LICC, Ms 1424, p. 199.

⁹⁰ He presented his birthbrieve on 9 November, 1626; AmKr, LICC, Ms 1424, p. 199.

⁹¹ According to his *Genealogia* written down in AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, p. 580. His genealogy was proven by James Leslie from Dundee and Robert Austenleg from Gostyń.

⁹² Noted down as Peter Odt in AmKr, Consularia, MS 459, p. 580. His genealogy was proven by Peter Enges from Tarnów and James Cruckshang.

⁹³ He presented his birthbrieve on 10 February 1627; AmKr, LICC, Ms 1424, p. 227.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

No.	Name	Place of origin	Date of admission	Date of birth-brieve issue	Profession	Admission fee
72	George Crukschank	Aberdeen [Tarnów] ⁹⁴	1646.08.16	1636.03.08	merchant	350 fl + b + 14 fl
73	Gaspar Huntter	Kraków	1651.05.25	—	•	—
74	George Mitchell	Nysa ⁹⁵	1651.08.26	1649.07.27	vegetable tanner	10 mc + 7 fl
75	Alexander Blackhall	Gdańsk	1653.12.17	1654.01.14	•	90 fl + 14 fl + b
76	Christopher Sztaynberger [Scotus]	Wrocław ⁹⁶	1654.03.27	1650.06.04	merchant	20 th + 7 fl + b
77	James Karmishel	Dundee	1654.09.25	1643.11.25	merchant	70 th + 14 fl + b 50 a Un +
78	James Chalmer	Aberdeen	1655.02.12	1636.05.06	merchant	14 fl + b

Table 2: Time lapsed from issuing of birthbrieves to admission to Kraków citizenship of Scots, 1509–1655

Months	Birthbrieve → citizenship	Citizenship → birthbrieve
–6	8	2
7–12	2	2
13–24	5	1
25–36	10	—
37–48	2	—
49–60	4	1
61–2	2	—
85–96	4	—
109–20	2	—
121–	4	—
Together	43	6

⁹⁴ He obliged himself to resign from Tarnów citizenship; AmKr, LICC, Ms 1425, p. 34.

⁹⁵ His birthbrieve was issued in Nysa, Silesia, *sub sigillo curiæ episcopalis Niscensis*; AmKr, LICC, MS 1427, p. 128.

⁹⁶ His birthbrieve was issued by the Wrocław city council; AmKr, LICC, MS 1425, p. 51.

Table 3: Scots admitted to the Kraków urban community, by place of origin, 1509–1655

No.	Place of origin	Before 1570	1571–1580	1581–1590	1591–1600	1601–1610	1611–1620	1621–1630	After 1630	Total	%
1	Aberdeen	–	1	4	9	3	2	9	2	30	38.46
2	Arbroath	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
3	Birsay	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1.28
4	Brechin	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
5	Wrocław	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1.28
6	Kraków	1	–	–	1	–	3	5	1	11	14.11
7	Culross	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	2.57
8	Gdańsk	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1.28
9	Dumfries	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
10	Dundee	1	–	–	1	1	–	2	1	6	7.69
11	Dunfermline	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
12	Edinburgh	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	2.57
13	Elgin	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1.28
14	Kalisz	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1.28
15	Leith	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
16	Lublin	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	2.57
17	Nysa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1.28
18	Perth	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1.28
19	Saughton [Santon]	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
20	St. Andrews	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.28
21	Sterling	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	2	2.57
22	Widawa	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1.28
Unknown		–	–	1	1	3	2	1	–	8	10.26
Total		2	5	8	17	9	9	21	7	78	100.0
%		2.57	6.41	10.26	21.79	11.54	11.54	26.92	8.97	100.0	

Table 4: Scots admitted to the Kraków urban community as percentages of all those admitted, 1573–1655

Year	Total entries	Scots entries	%
1571–1580	624	7	1.12
1581–1590	707	6	0.84
1591–1600	704	17	2.41
1601–1610	564	9	1.60
1611–1620	601	9	1.50
1621–1630	602	21	3.49
1631–1640	548	0	0
1641–1650	555	1	0.18
1651–1655	220	6	2.73
1570–1655 total	5125	76	1.48

Table 5: Aberdonians in Poland-Lithuania applying for birthbriefs, 1637–1655, as percentages of all applicants to the Aberdeen city council

Year	Applicants in Poland-Lithuania	Applicants total
1637	3	17
1638	6	8
1639	0	2
1640	0	1
1641	4	5
1642	6	8
1643	6	10
1644	1	1
1645	4	8
1646	3	5
1647	0	2
1648	5	13
1649	3	6
1650	2	2
1651	0	3
1652	3	9
1653	1	3
1654	2	8
1655	3	9
Total	52	120
%	43.33	100.00

Source: ACA, Propinquity book, MS with no signature, passim; *Birth Briefs*.

Sources

LICC 1; *LICC* 2; *LICC*, MSs 1424, 1425, 1427, 1431.

Other sources have been mentioned in footnotes if necessary.

Abbreviations

a Un – Hungarian ducat (*aureus Ungaricalis*)

b – a musket (*bombarda*)

Cr. – *Cracoviensis*, *Cracovienses*, Cracow

cv – *civis*; cvs – *cives*

fl – Polish floren (*florenus Polonialis*)

fl Un – Hungarian florin (*florenus Ungaricalis*)

gr – grosz (*grossus*)

institor – stallholder

mc – mark (*marca*)

mrch – merchant; mrchs – merchants

sp – a stone of gunpowder; stones of gunpowder

th – imperial thaler

The following Latin nouns have been translated into English as
Jacobus – James (although ‘Jacob’ is another equivalent)

mercator – merchant

negociator – merchant

revenditor – trader

- – no source data available
- – a fact did not take place

THE NATION EPIDEMICAL:
SCOTO-BRITANNUS TO SCOTO-POLONUS

Arthur H. Williamson

Like Jews they spread, and as infection fly
As if the Devil had ubiquity.
Hence 'tis they live as rovers and defie
This or that place, Rags of Geography.
They're Citizens o' th' World, they're all in all,
Scotland's a nation epidemicall.¹

So wrote the royalist publicist and virulent Scotophobe John Cleveland in 1643 as Scotland entered the English Civil War on the parliamentary side. However bigoted, his words did speak to the extraordinary early modern Scottish diaspora, a substantial part of which involved Scots migrating into England, to the districts along the south Baltic coast, and throughout Poland-Lithuania. The considerable Scottish presence had a significant influence on the economies, the politics, and the religious experience of the three regions, the wandering Scot becoming a fixture in the language and literature of them all.

In all three the Scots would find themselves welcomed by radicals and reformers. But in all three, powerful and highly articulate conservative voices would develop, quite independently, remarkably similar vocabularies of Scottish menace and subversion. In each region Scottish commercial activity seemed to threaten local mercantile elites while, at the same time, in the countryside these activities appeared to challenge traditional organic ideals of social integration, autarchy, and paternalism. Yet far more seemed to be at stake. Scottish aspirations were rarely merely commercial. Trading patterns, often overlaid with military routes used by Scottish mercenaries, provided arteries for the dissemination of ideas, notably Calvinism and Presbyterianism, thereby potentially reconfiguring these societies in still more fundamental ways. Frequently linked with these lines of thought were the classical values of citizenship, participation, and public decision-taking—which became

¹ Cleveland, *The Poems of John Cleveland*, pp. 30–31.

highly developed in later sixteenth-century Scotland through the thought of George Buchanan (1506–1582), Andrew Melville (1545–1622), and David Hume of Godscroft (1558–1630?).² Far more visible, however, were the Judaic, Old Testament, and messianic dimensions to the Scottish presence. That spirituality, along with their economic activities, led to Scots constantly being associated with the Jews. The economic aspect had always been prominent. Polish kings like Stephen Batory in 1580 and Sigismund III in 1594 continually confirmed and repeated injunctions restricting the activities of “the Scots and the Jews, whose proceedings are not customary in this country and have been forbidden before.” Local authorities also issued a steady stream of such decrees about trade in which the connection clearly became formulaic: “let them be lords or commons, priests or peasants, Jews or Scots.”³ As Waldemar Kowalski has shown, Polish poets such as Władysław Jeżowski (d. 1638) and Wacław Potocki (1621–96) linked them no less directly, articulating what can only have been a well worn commonplace.⁴ The association of the two groups may reach back as far as the 1530s. It would persist at least through the 1670s.⁵ This shared role of the Scots and Jews as traders and money-lenders in Poland-Lithuania and in the Baltic districts has long been recognized by modern scholars. Now just over a century ago Th. A. Fischer commented that, “the Jews are constantly coupled with them.” “The Scottish strangers stepped into the Jewish inheritance with all its advantages and *burdens*.” “The prejudices and groundless reproaches of injured competitors . . . were gratuitously transferred from

² See Buchanan, *Political Poetry*, Introduction; Hume of Godscroft, *The British Union*, Introduction; Buchanan, *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, Introduction.

³ Steuart, *Papers Relating to the Scots*, pp. 96–99, esp. 98; Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, p. 158. Sigismund’s edict is directed to “*Judaeis, Scotis et aliis ceteris vagis hominibus*” (Jews, Scots, and other vagrant people). The local authorities included districts all along the Polish corridor: Toruń (Thorn) 1556 and 1634, Ermeland (Warmia) 1551 and 1579, Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) 1596, Kaliningrad (Königsberg) 1612, as well as Wałcz (Deutsche-Krone), Poznań (Posen), among many others. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, pp. 22, 24, 34–35; Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, pp. 54–55.

⁴ Waldemar Kowalski has drawn our attention to Scots featured in Polish literature as well as their association with the Jews in an important article, “The Placement of Urbanized Scots,” pp. 67–68, 84–85. Cf. Guldon and Kowalski, “Between Tolerance and Abomination,” pp. 161–75.

⁵ As late as 1675 the purse-makers guild in Poznań (Posen) sought to restrict outsiders to the wholesale trade: “It shall not be permitted to merchants, be they Scots or Jews, to sell purses singly, but only by the dozen.” The shoemakers and smiths seem to have adopted an analogous attitude. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, pp. 54–55; Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanized Scots,” p. 56.

the Jewish to the Scottish peddler.” Recent scholarship has confirmed and elaborated the close functional similarities between the two, similar to the point of making them interchangeable and even companions.⁶

Attitudes in England proved much the same. The Puritan Lord Saye would be castigated as “the white Jew” of the upper house of Parliament for endorsing money-lending, and throughout the period English Puritans were reflexively elided with their Scottish allies.⁷ In Ben Jonson’s hugely popular and hugely reactionary play *Bartholomew Fair* (1614, revived 1661) the followers of the Puritan prophet “Rabbi” Zeal-O’-the-Land-Busy meditate on the works of John Knox. The royalist playwright John Tatham (*fl.* 1632–1664) had Scottish characters speak of themselves as being “like the wandering Jew,” and enter England in hope of overcoming their poverty.⁸ As in Poland-Lithuania and the south Baltic, Scots would work throughout the period and well beyond to achieve access to English markets. Potocki may have lacked Cleveland’s wit, but certainly not the venom of his English contemporary. Potocki may be a far more significant poet, but their language and attitudes are identical. Moreover, the extensive Scottish penetration of the East was itself so well-known in England as to become proverbial in both politics and literature. Members of the English House of Commons in 1606 opposed King James’ corporate union of the two realms at one point by insisting that, “we shall be overrun by them...witness the multiplicities of Scots in Polland.”⁹ The commonplace subsequently found its way into John Webster’s drama, *The White Devil* (1612), where Flameneo declares that he would rather “be enter’s into the forty thousand peddlers in Poland” (or do other repellent things) than give up his place at court.¹⁰ At the same time, members of the Polish elite were well aware of English sentiment. In 1637 Andrew Rey, the Polish envoy to the British court, played to such sentiment by threatening to expel and repatriate all the Scots wandering about Poland.¹¹ In England in

⁶ Mączak, “Money and Society in Poland,” p. 95 (noting Scots as money lenders); Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, pp. 38–39 (italics in original); Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, p. 14; Žirgulis, “The Scottish Community,” pp. 241, 243.

⁷ William Fiennes, first viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662). Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 298.

⁸ Discussed at length by A. H. Williamson in “‘A Pill for Pork-Eaters’,” pp. 246–47.

⁹ Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Webster, *The White Devil*, III.iii.6–7.

¹¹ Mierzwa, *Anglia a Polska*, p. 153. Rey underscored his threat by claiming, no doubt rhetorically, that there were 40,000 Scots in Poland who, he intimated, just

the coastal counties and in the whole of Poland-Lithuania functional markers have proven arresting both then and now.

But simple functional markers alone do not capture early modern reality. Scottish penetration of all these regions entailed more than economic consequences and could be undertaken with larger intentions. Scots often saw their activities in terms of mission, promoting the Reformation as part of a great common cause with like-minded people everywhere. The Reformation in England and Scotland literally from the 1540s to the 1640s, we now know, needs to be seen as a pan-British phenomenon. Every crisis point during this period—1548, 1550–60, 1568–73, 1584, 1632–43, 1650—did not incidentally come to involve both kingdoms but was dominated by a British horizon. By the end of the sixteenth century the “Scoto-Britannus” became surprisingly wide-spread, and scholars increasingly recognize that modern national categories, and still more post-Romantic nationalism, can only lead to anachronism and serious distortion. Patriotism abounded. The neologism “patriot” entered English in the 1580s. But early modern “patriots” thought in terms of universal mission, not self-actualization, nor in terms of transcendent ethnic identity, nor in terms of a national “soul.” It is very far indeed from the world of Edmund Burke, Joseph de Maistre, and Johann Herder. “Patriots” anticipate the Enlightenment and the democratic revolutions, not Romanticism.

So too, Scots looked to Britain and Poland as crucial elements in a grand confederation through which the universal empire of the Habsburgs and the papacy would be defeated and replaced by an emerging world of “free” states, that is reformed and civic polities. All these events would prove nothing less than the prophesied eschaton at the end of days. The idea of sacred confederation increasingly characterized Reformed political thought after 1600, informing politics literally from Transylvania to New England. Confederation was not imagined as merely a tissue of tactical alliances, but as a sign of the final world order. The frequent term “Scoto-Britannus” and the occasional one “Scoto-Polonus” carried with them not only notions of solidarity and common purpose, but, often, implications for the future.¹² The polyglot and multi-peopled Poland-Lithuania as well

might descend on England. I am most grateful to Waldemar Kowalski for providing me this reference.

¹² Biegańska, “The Learned Scots in Poland,” pp. 1–27, esp. 26–27. Cf. W. Kowalski, “Change in Continuity,” p. 708.

as the quite locally-oriented Baltic districts, such as Pomerania, royal Prussia, ducal Prussia, and Mecklenburg posed no problem for the Scottish outlook. Trading networks within Poland, often with their own Calvinist churches, consequently laid the groundwork for Protestant networks within the commonwealth. They would fund the training of ministers, both Scots and Poles, for the Polish Reformed Church, especially at the University of Aberdeen. Polish and Scottish Reformed churches frequently experienced devastating attacks from Roman Catholic mobs, especially after 1600 when the Counter-Reformation gained ascendancy.¹³ Often enough, church attacks turned into attacks on businesses, but efforts to disentangle economic and religious motives would be misconceived. The target was a generalized source of subversion which would compromise Roman Catholic orthodoxy as well as broader notions of tradition and authority.

What made this Scottish “subversion” so formidable and thus the conservative reaction so intense was the corporate coherence of the Scots, something untrue of Scottish migration both during the Middle Ages and in the modern period. The on-going interconnection between the Scot abroad and the home country is striking. Links with Scotland were maintained through successive waves of migration, in part through commercial connections and a surprisingly high level of travel back and forth. Money earned in Poland helped fund the Scottish church, Scottish hospitals, and Scottish universities, perhaps most notably the University of Aberdeen. The well-known verses of the Scottish traveler, proto-journalist, and social commentator William Lithgow provide some sense of this in 1633. As Lady Scotland speaks, “For Polland shee’s my Nurse, brings up my Youth,/ Full thirtty thousand yearely, of a truth;/ Than loades them with the fatnesse of her Soyle/ Which, I, in due tyme, do still recoyle.”¹⁴ Lithgow, although a militant Protestant, misleads us with his exclusive focus on commerce, as well as with his numbers, but intimate connection is clear and unmistakably genuine. A better indication perhaps comes from 1647 when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland undertook to promote the new Westminster

¹³ Biegańska, “In Search of Tolerance,” pp. 43–44. Tazbir, “The fate of Polish Protestantism,” p. 214. Catholic mobs attacked Protestant churches of the Kraków region in 1574, 1575, 1577, 1587, 1591, 1601, 1613, 1622; in Wilno (Vilnius) in 1591, 1611, 1622; in Poznań in 1606, 1614, 1616. Biegańska notes that, “the Scots were much involved in such disturbances,” p. 44.

¹⁴ Lithgow, *Scotlands Welcome*, sig. A4^v. Cf. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, p. 368. The full account of his travels was originally published in 1632.

formulae “unto the Scots Merchants and other[s] their Countrey-people scattered in Poland, Swedland, Denmark, and Hungary.” The Assembly expressed the concern, unsurprisingly, that there existed a shortage of clergy and church discipline; “the sad and lamentable condition of many thousands of you our Countrey-men, scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd.” The project was clearly predicated upon the assumption that there existed large numbers of reformed Scots abroad, and first off in Poland. The Assembly was far less sanguine than Lithgow about opportunities for Scots abroad. Scottish traders it was said had “taken so much pains to get uncertain riches,” but the mercantile and the spiritual were by no means at odds. As part of the same missive, the Scottish estates felt the need to explain, and defend, policy and in particular the doings of its army in England, hardly necessary if events at home were not matters of serious concern to Scottish communities abroad. Subsequently, Charles II’s famous, or infamous, pan-handling “subsidy” of 1651 similarly assumed Scottish coherence and may have found its model in the Assembly’s action. Certainly, the king’s prospects can only have been enhanced by his having taken the Covenant.¹⁵

Diaspora combined with cohesion is peculiar to the Scottish experience during the early modern period. It bears direct comparison with contemporary European Jewry. As Jonathan Israel has shown, during these centuries, unlike earlier ages or those that would follow, Europe’s Jews possessed unique social, intellectual, and even political coherence, a circumstance that proved profoundly defining.¹⁶ With the possible exception of the Dutch, no other European people shared this experience. Yet Dutch dispersal normally enjoyed state sanction and encouragement, something that separated them decisively from the Scots and the Jews. The latter two peoples invited comparison in so many ways that their frequent association can hardly be surprising. In the end the Lviv (Lwów) confederates probably got it right, for all their bigotry, when they faced the crisis of the 1650s Swedish Deluge and proclaimed their intention to “eradicate all heretics, especially the Jews and the Scots.”¹⁷ It hardly mattered that Jews could not be heretics,

¹⁵ *A Declaration of the Convention*, p. 4; see Pernal and Gasse, “The 1651 Polish Subsidy,” pp. 1–50. Parliamentary success both militarily and diplomatically prompted the increasingly desperate Charles to solicit financial support from the large number of Scots abroad. His efforts met with no more than mixed results.

¹⁶ Israel, *European Jewry*.

¹⁷ Cited by Friedrich, *The Other Prussia*, p. 140.

and that not all Scots were Protestants. A compelling sense of religious and social orthodoxy shaped their thinking. It also shaped that of John Casimir, whose contemporaneous oath declaring the virgin Mary to be the queen of Poland, similarly marginalized dissent.

To be sure, Scotland was not nearly as radical as both its admirers and detractors often imagined. Scottish Jesuits would play a significant role in Poland's Counter-Reformation. The religion of the impoverished Scots peddlers who tramped the Polish countryside may not have been highly articulated and, like Lithgow on his travels, worn as circumstances required. Numerous Scots, including Protestants, served in the Habsburg forces during the Thirty Years War and performed notably, and even dramatically in the assassination of Albrecht Wallenstein.¹⁸ James VI and I became increasingly conservative after 1596, and, although always a Protestant, his authoritarianism needs to be seen as part of the great reaction in Europe that began during that decade. It will not surprise us that the Racovian radicals sent their confession of faith to King James, no doubt, in part, because of the close links between Poland and Scotland, and now Britain. Nor will it surprise us that the king had it publicly burnt. Yet, for all that, Scotland was the only Calvinist kingdom in Europe, and was *perceived* as a power-centre for reform or, depending on perspective, for subversion. Scotland's reputation, rather than the more problematic reality, could only find reinforcement in the towering figure of George Buchanan, the realm's premier revolutionary.¹⁹ For the same reason, the extent of migration into Poland, whether thousands or tens of thousands, becomes less an issue for this study than the perception of the Scottish presence.

Perhaps there is no better introduction to the layered image of the subversive Scot than in the thoroughly nasty caricatures with which the Counter-Reformation greeted the "Swedish Armada" in 1630–32, when Gustavus Adolphus' forces landed at Szczecin (Stettin) in Pomerania on the Polish borders (Figure 1). We confront a picture of a Lapp, a Livonian, and a Scot, all heavily armed Protestant primitives, sweeping down out of the forests of the North to rape and pillage. Their sylvan character is made manifest by the leafy branches on the Scot's pack,

¹⁸ Worthington, *Scots in the Hapsburg Service*.

¹⁹ Buchanan had authored the *De jure regni apud Scotos, dialogus* (1579) along with extensive poetry that promoted civic society, justified revolution and tyrannicide, and became key works in the Atlantic Republican Tradition. For two centuries they alternately exhilarated and scandalized the whole of Europe.



Williamson Figure 1: Caricatures of members of the “Swedish Armada” of Gustavus Adolphus, 1632

in the hat of the reindeer-riding Livonian, and, possibly most primitive of all, being savoured by the bare-foot Lapp. These figures are alien exotics, wondrous people (*wunderselzamen Völker*) completely foreign, like the reindeer (*uns unbekandt*), and thus completely out of place.

Or are they? The Scot differs from his companions. That he carries a pack is crucial, for thereby he would be immediately recognizable as the ubiquitous Scottish peddler. Peddlers from Scotland had become so widely diffused throughout all these territories and all Poland-Lithuania that in both German and Polish the term "Scot" (*Schotte, Szot, Szkot*) had simply come to mean "peddler" or perhaps "tinker." In ducal Prussia the German proverb, "*Warte bis der Schotte kommt*" (Wait till the Scot comes [to get you]), an expression used to threaten misbehaving children, has persisted into modern times.²⁰ The frequent use of this term in Polish literature has at times made its meaning ambivalent, perhaps intentionally so.²¹ To be sure, peddlers in early modern Poland and its adjacent territories came from just about everywhere. There were Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Armenians, Tartars, and, outstandingly, Jews. But, except for the Jews, the Scots were more numerous, more widely dispersed, more itinerant, and more organized than the others. Even the goods they purveyed came to be known commonly as "*merces scotiae*" (*rzeczy skockie*), Scottish wares. These items ranged widely, including household goods, clothing, firearms, and even drugs of uncertain provenance. The drug-dealing Scot appeared in English literature as well. With the outbreak of revolution in England in 1641, the playwright

²⁰ Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, pp. 5, 18; Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, p. 50. See "*szot*" in the glossary to most modern collections of Renaissance and Baroque Polish poetry. E.g., Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, II, p. 310; Gruchała, and Grzeszczuk, *Staropolska Poezja*, p. 373. Modern historians and literary critics have frequently noted the use of this term. Biegańska, "Scottish Merchants and Traders," pp. 20–21, 23; Frost, "Scottish Soldiers," p. 193; Hundert, "On the Jewish Community in Poland," p. 367 and n. 60; Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," p. 256; Mączak, "Confessions, Freedoms, and the Unity," p. 276.

²¹ Waldemar Kowalski has drawn our attention to the nineteenth "song" of the poet Jan Kochanowski (1530–84), which laments the sad case of an elderly woman trying to attract the attentions of younger men. She should buy a new mirror from a "*szot*." Is the tradesman a Scot, upper case, as Kowalski and the French edition have it? Or, does Kochanowski simply mean a peddler of any nationality, lower case, as the modern Polish edition has it? The shabbiness of the (wealthy) woman is linked to the shabbiness of the peddler, or is it the shabbiness of the itinerant Scot? Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, p. 238. Kochanowski, *Chants, traduits de polonaise*, pp. 72–73. I am grateful to Tomek Wiśniewski for alerting me to the ambivalence in this poem.

John Tatham made the Scottish apothecary a purveyor of both poison and the poisonous political thought of Buchanan.²²

Moreover, it was widely recognized that peddlers could quickly become soldiers, and then revert back as occasion served. One of Stephen Batory's captains memorably observed that Scottish peddlers made effective troops. Having sold their shops, "they buckle on their sword and shoulder their musket," much as is seen in the illustration. "They are infantry of unusual quality, although they look shabby to us . . . 2000 Scots are better than 6000 of our own infantry."²³ Whatever the hyperbole, the connection is clear and apparently a commonplace. Prior to the Thirty Years War, most Germans and Poles surely never saw a Lapp, are unlikely to have met a Finn, and rarely encountered a Livonian.²⁴ But the Scots were everywhere, from Szczecin to Lublin, from Kraków to Varna. They were foreign, yet familiar, dark and dubious, yet everyday. The brutal-looking Scot becomes all the more troubling precisely because he *was* a known quantity of highly problematic character.

The densities of the illustration involve still more. Unlike his companions, the Scot is clothed in animal skins.²⁵ His dress carries the implication of primitivism now for us and surely did at the time for contemporaries as well. Contemporaries might even have detected a hint of the medieval wild man, the forest figure living beyond civilization and even reason. Yet the association of furs with the Scots bore additional meanings for contemporaries. Within all these territories, trade in furs was a government monopoly requiring license, and it was a monopoly that Scots (as well as Jews) regularly and notoriously subverted. In 1556 the retail merchants of the city of Toruń petitioned

²² Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, p. 95 and n. 3. In Tatham's *The Distracted State* (1641), a Scottish mountebank apothecary is called upon to poison the king of Sicily, a deed easily done as "I an me countramen ha' peysoned three better kingdoms as this" with the doctrines of Buchanan. Tatham, *The Dramatic Writings of John Tatham* pp. 93–94.

²³ Cited by Frost, "Scottish Soldiers," p. 196.

²⁴ They would only encounter such people by serving in the forces which marched off to Livonia and the northern wars. The northerners were far removed from daily life. My thanks to Waldemar Kowalski for this observation.

²⁵ Although Scots were long associated with the fur trade, they were not normally portrayed wearing skins. In contrast, Cesare Vecellio's sixteenth-century costume book portrays an archetypal Lapp as wearing furs. See Williamson, "Scots, Indians, and Empire," pp. 46–83 and Vecellio's *Renaissance Costume Book*, p. 90 (#292). My thanks to R. B. Waddington for drawing my attention to Vecellio.

the governors of royal Prussia to remind the crown of the prohibitions against the Jewish and Scottish peddlers who, among much else, dealt in, "all sorts of skins and furs that are secretly purloined." In 1579 the bishop of Ermeland (Warmia) likewise tried to stop this trade in furs. Such goods of "any hawking Jew or Scot" within his dominions were to be confiscated and sold. Stephen Batory's 1580 proclamation restricting Jewish and Scottish peddlers also forbade their unlawful trade "in all manner of fur garments and skins."²⁶ Reference to Scottish fur traders were not always hostile. In his poem "*Roxolania*" (1584) Sebastian Fabian Klonowicz spoke of British, that is Scottish, merchants circling the earth to purchase Muscovite sheepskins in Lublin.²⁷ Still, Scots normally found themselves portrayed as dubious outsiders. The Scot in the illustration therefore is not simply primitive, but an individual who lives in a very recognizable way at the edge of the law and the boundaries of society. He is not merely a military invader, but an economic one as well. Still more and still worse, he brings heresy with him.

Elements of the anti-Scottish image would find their way into the modern anti-Semitic stereotype that assumed much of its shape by the end of the seventeenth century. The modern Polish historian Janusz Tazbir has argued that the first wave of anti-Semitic pamphlets apparently arose with the onset of economic decline about 1600. He further claims that the phenomenon needs to be seen as part of an emerging, more generalized hostility to things deemed to be "foreign," and also to the movement for religious reform.²⁸ It is in this context that we need to view Wojciech Gostkowski's anti-Scottish *Detectio accessy skarbu Króla J. Msci y Rzeczpospolitey* (*An Inquiry into the Excise of his royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth*, undated but probably the 1620s), which detailed the "illegal" business practices of Scottish traders. Scots apparently made determined efforts to block its publication, and, when that failed, several tried to prevent its dissemination by buying up copies and destroying

²⁶ Stewart, *Papers Relating to the Scots*, pp. 97, 99; Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, pp. 23, 34–35; Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanized Scots," p. 67.

²⁷ Krawczyk, "The British in Poland," p. 256. Klonowicz, *Roxolania - Roksolania*, p. 70 (ll. 827–32). See Coleman, *Klonowicz and the Ukraine*, and Klonowicz, *The Boatman*, Introduction. Perhaps it is a sign of the times that the modern Polish translation of *Roxolania* renders "Britannia" as "Anglia" (p. 71). Klonowicz uses "Britannia" for reasons of meter, seeking to echo Virgil, *Eclogue* I.67. Krawczyk makes the point that the English were generally identified with the Scots, and, accordingly, even referred to as Scots (p. 254).

²⁸ Tazbir, "Les Juifs vus par l'opinion polonaise," pp. 42–43, 50.

them.²⁹ In itself, the incident appears to have had relatively limited consequences, and it is highly unusual, if not unique, within Scottish experience. Unfortunately, comparable events in Jewish experience would prove to be both recurring and of major importance.³⁰ Yet the growing hostility to outsiders during the seventeenth century and to the Jews in particular manifestly involved common perceptions and overlapping fears, and needs to be seen as part of a broad development.

The anti-Scottish caricature of 1632 feeds into the anti-Jewish “*Korn Jude*” (grain Jew) of 1694 (Figure 2). This German silver-alloy coin depicts the itinerant Jew carrying off a sack of grain at a time of famine, and perhaps even creating that famine. The sack does not hold his wares, but the produce of the earth that he has received for them or, perhaps more likely, from money-lending. In the background lies the peasant village from which he has just departed. Perched atop the sack is a devil who punctures it, thereby depriving the Jew of his ill-gotten gains. The Jew, just like the Scot earlier in the century, has disrupted the “natural” autarchic world of lord and peasant, of hierarchy, stability, reciprocity, dependence, and gratitude. The “*losen Schotten*” (vagrant Scots) along with the “grain Jews” were the traders most commonly found out tramping through the countryside of what eventually become modern Germany and Poland.³¹ Perhaps it should not surprise us that the two were not only associated but at moments actually seem to have been confused with one another.³²

Of course, anti-Judaism had long, integral, and highly developed sources within medieval Latin culture, involving attitudes and assumptions not easily linked with the Scots. No Scot would ever be accused of the blood libel. No Scot was ever accused of poisoning wells. No Scot was ever imagined as archetypally fearful of war. Even though they were heretics who denied Christ’s body in the sacrament, Scots were never accused of murdering the historic Jesus. Nevertheless, the growing conservatism within Poland during the seventeenth century

²⁹ Biegańska, “Scottish Merchants and Traders,” p. 29.

³⁰ Israel, *European Jewry*, pp. 234–35; Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction*, p. 14.

³¹ Tazbir, “Les Juifs vus par l’opinion polonaise,” p. 47; cf. Bogucka, “Scots in Gdansk,” p. 41. As early as 1531 the clothiers of Malbork (Marienburg) in East Prussia complained to the duke that large numbers of “*die losen Schotten*” were off selling clothes in the villages and homes of the countryside. They had no fixed abode and paid no taxes or tolls to any town. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, p. 22. Their description even then suggests the “grain Jew.”

³² Stewart, *Papers Relating to the Scots*, pp. xxiv–v.



Williamson Figure 2: Anti-Jewish "*Korn Jude*" (grain Jew) of 1694

increasingly defined society in ways that foreclosed dissent and conjoined dissenters as a threat to the Commonwealth. Economic concerns led directly to broader social and religious preoccupations in the literature of the period. During the earlier part of the century the poet Jeżowski idealized an integrated society where everyone knew his place and where things fit together, a society which followed the divine order, and which apparently also included servile labour. Agriculture provided its foundation and generated its wealth. "Our forefathers held husbandry dear." But, alas, it was a society that found itself disrupted by the aggressive and dishonest practices of Jews and Scots. The natural leaders of society found their power and status eroded as a result, for who had a chance against these rapacious newcomers? "There was no way to buy a village when competing with Jews and Scots." Jeżowski suggested that these people were using impoverished members of the gentry as front-men to acquire an illegitimate position in society.³³ Commerce

³³ Translated and discussed by Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanized Scots," pp. 67–68. Jeżowski, "Ekonomia," pp. 245–47. Kowalski has performed the inestimable service of introducing English-speakers to this literature.

had rent the social fabric (or at least an imaginary version of it), and, at the everyday level, commerce meant Jews and Scots.

Later in the century, as Kowalski has shown, the poet Potocki developed these themes in harsher and increasingly xenophobic ways. More than simply an idealized, if fanciful, agrarian order and ancestral values found themselves threatened. The very meaning of what it was to be Polish had become an issue. Not only did merchants betray the country by taking its wealth abroad, such merchants, particularly Jews and Scots, sought to penetrate the gentry itself. They might even seek to enter the *Sejm* and supplant the true members of the aristocracy. Yet all this is preposterous: for neither proper speech nor groceries will make an aristocrat, something that can only come from the blood. Conversely, it was a terrible mistake for Poles to seek education abroad. Instead they should study at home as their ancestors had done.³⁴ This concern for “polonization,” and along with it confessionalization, extended to the military. Potocki lamented the use of foreigners in Polish armies, apparently a threat to Polish military virtue. Money he said should be properly distributed with more for the army and less for the clergy. In that way, “we would not need to draft Germans and Englishmen/ Pull peasants from their flails [i.e., threshing], nor take the Scots away from their trade.”³⁵ Unlike the Lviv confederates, Potocki did not seek the Scots’ “eradication,” but he certainly did seek their marginalization. Although Jewish military units occasionally served in the Commonwealth’s forces in Lithuania and the East, the Polish stereotype of the Jews portrayed them as grasping yet cowardly, aggressive in business yet fearful in war.³⁶ Potocki effectively relegates the Scots to the position and status of the Jews. The organic, authoritarian world he sought did not differ greatly from that promoted by Cleveland, Tatham, and the counter-revolu-

³⁴ Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanized Scots,” pp. 83–85. Potocki, *Dziela*, II, pp. 276–77, 350–51, 621–22; III, pp. 336–37.

³⁵ Kowalski, “The Placement of Urbanized Scots,” p. 84, n. 152. Potocki, *Dziela*, II, p. 622. “*Nie trzeba by nam Niemców zaciągać i Anglów/Chłopów od cepów ani Szotów od ich handłów.*” Potocki, although a convert from unitarian Protestantism, would always be critical of the primitive parish clergy. His contempt for parochial priests contrasted with his regard for the “*reformati*” Franciscans who, with the Jesuits, in fact drove the Counter-Reformation in Poland. Waldemar Kowalski, “From the ‘Land of Diverse Sects,’” p. 489. See also Kowalski, “Change in Continuity,” p. 705.

³⁶ Frost, *The Northern Wars*, p. 191, n. 71. The anti-Semitic polemicist Sebastian Miczyński (1618) claimed of Jews that, “none of them ever dies in war nor of the plague.” Cited and translated by Guldon and Kowalski, “The Jewish Population and Family,” p. 520.

tionaries of contemporary England. Potocki's Scottish author of choice would be John Barclay and his authoritarian, anti-Calvinist romance, the *Argenis* (1621), not George Buchanan and his famous *De jure regni apud Scotos dialogus* (1579) or his hugely popular political poetry. Any number of the giants of the European revolutionary tradition—Buchanan, John Milton, James Harrington—discounted commerce.³⁷ The issues were spiritual, historical, and cultural rather more than narrowly economic concerns. So too was the reaction to Jews and Scots, both in England and Poland.

If they were frequently compared with the Jews, Scots often enough indignantly rejected the comparison out of hand, hardly welcoming the prospect of being, in Fischer's words, "the successor and companion of the Jew."³⁸ They vehemently protested the poll tax that had been imposed on them and the Jews, not simply for fiscal reasons nor because the tax sought to stem Scottish immigration, but also because of the social and religious status implied by the connection. William Lithgow held ambivalent feelings toward the Jews. On one hand he saw parallels between Jews and Jesuits and endorsed the restrictive legislation in Venice. Yet he also partied with Jews and spoke of "making merry with our Hebraick friends."³⁹ So hugely influential an English reformer as John Foxe (d. 1587), otherwise remarkably populist and humane, was resolutely anti-Semitic. In the next century the Presbyterian William Prynne fought the efforts to re-admit the Jews to revolutionary England with some success. The Protestant poet Klonowicz may have held ambivalent attitudes toward commerce. *Flis* (The Boatman, 1595) lamented commerce and urged autarchy, while his *Roxolania* celebrated Lublin as a global entrepôt. But he had no doubt concerning the thoroughly nasty and destructive character of the Jews, even if his hostility did not extend to the blood libel and medieval aspersions.⁴⁰

³⁷ Though by 1650, if not earlier, political economy had emerged as a central feature of European radicalism and thus a central feature for its opponents. See Pincus, "Neither Machiavellian Moment," pp. 703–36.

³⁸ Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, pp. 14, 112.

³⁹ Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse*, p. 257.

⁴⁰ Klonowicz, *Flis, to jest, Spuszczanie statków Wisła*; Klonowicz, *The Boatman*, stanzas 40, 70, 91, 158–69, and *passim*. Cf. J. Tazbir, "Die Reformation in Polen," pp. 386–400. *Roxolania* (ll. 1237–62):

This lying scoundrel, this circumcised prick, makes his home
In the muddy suburbs, in fetid tenements.
It's a race [*gens*] redolent of the goat [odor? Satan?], noted for a nasty rheum
and a perpetual pallor of countenance.

Yet it is important to recall that John Calvin himself took an unusually generous view of Judaism. Still more important, from the 1590s onwards English speakers developed an ever more highly articulated apocalyptic vision of the future, and that vision projected an increasingly important and positive role for the Jews in the historical redemption at the end of days. It had been a commonplace since late antiquity that the stubborn Jews would at long last recognize the truth of Christianity in the run-up to the parousia. But the new early modern philo-Semitism insisted that final religious truth lay as yet over the horizon and its recovery required Jewish wisdom. Moreover, Anglophone writers also looked increasingly to a restored Jewish monarchy in the Middle East as a prelude to the second coming of the Nazarene or perhaps even the millennium. Philo-Semitism did not propose modern notions of toleration (where religion is a private matter disconnected from public decision-taking), but it did encourage a range of belief as essential to reconstructing the Edenic intellect and thereby achieving human destiny. Key figures in these lines of thought included the English Puritans Thomas Brightman, Hugh Broughton, Henry Finch, and Scots such as John Napier, Samuel Rutherford, and John Durie among many others.

The synagogue resounds with hoarse shouting,
 Chanting mingled with diverse sounds like mooing.
 The congregation makes things undone from things done,
 Demands from heaven gifts already sent.
 You may ask, per chance, what the Jew does in the populous city?
 What does the wolf do let loose into the crowded sheepfold?
 He takes his toll of famous cities with loans never paid off,
 He burdens them with usury, and sows the seeds of poverty.
 Not otherwise does the grub little by little eat up the oak trees,
 And the slow worm bring swift decay.
 And just as the blood is sucked out [drunk up] by the silent leech,
 The fresh vigour and vitality are seized and used up.
 By moths are clothes destroyed, iron by rust
 Thus the lazy Jew is wont to nibble much [many things] away.
 By his art he has shorn off private wealth—
 And often monarchs, whittled down, have learned this too late,
 And the republic, taught by ill, has groaned aloud,
 When it was laid low, as if a body without blood,
 Until all its powers, all its life's blood is gone.
 But disdain, my Muse, these acknowledged diseases,
 And detest this wickedness—Faithless crowd, so long!

I want to thank my collaborator and colleague Professor Paul McGinnis for translating this passage from the *Roxolania*. I also want to thank Dr. Paulina Kewes for comparing the Coleman translation of *The Boatman* with the Polish original.

Brightman, whose work had an enormous influence in Scotland, spoke of the Jewish future in the Middle East in arresting tones.

Quit your selves there like men and be valiant (o ye Jewish people), you must one daye enter combat and fight a battel, and that a terrible as ever there was anywhere, as is clearly foretold in *Daniel* 12.1. And yet be not afraid, neither let your hearts faile you for feare, you are surely to get the victorie and to attaine ever lasting joye...⁴¹

These ideas culminated in the 1655 Whitehall conference and the beginnings of modern British Jewry.

We surely need to see within this context the great social experiments at Raków and Kėdainiai, and the philo-Semitism that was integral to them both must be seen within this context. Long-term and highly successful, they bear some comparison to the social experiments in New England, notably Rhode Island. Only the extraordinary external force of the Counter-Reformation could destroy them. In both, Protestants and Jews seem to have come together in what they perceived to be a common cause. The Racovian "New Jerusalem" was suffused with apocalyptic expectations. Its Anti-Trinitarianism enjoined Jewish resurrection and rejected the Greek immortal soul. As a result, history, indeed sacred history, became enormously important, for salvation could only occur at the end of time and the resolution of the divine program. History will indeed absolve you. It should be no surprise that Racovian messianic histories outlining Polish mission should persist long after the destruction of the community. The strong Racovian commitment to heliocentrism also will likely have derived from the community's eschatology and resurrectionist theology, quite possibly owing a debt to Jewish mysticism as well.⁴² Kėdainiai, unlike Raków, was significantly shaped by Scottish migration, settlement that began in the late 1620s. Calvinist rather than Arianist, and therefore more conservative, the community was founded nevertheless with a utopian agenda and apocalyptic expectations. As early as 1629, there

⁴¹ Williamson, "Latter-Day Judah," p. 149. Cf. Williamson, "The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse," pp. 7–30; Williamson, *Apocalypse Then*, chapters four and seven. Regarding Calvin, see Israel, *European Jewry*, p. 13.

⁴² Urban, "Polish Brethren," III, pp. 289–90; Godbey, "Racovian Catechism," III, pp. 373–75. Williams, "The Sarmatian Myth," pp. 571–83, esp. 576. Regarding the spiritual, indeed eschatological dimensions of heliocentrism, see the English Leveller Overton, *Mans Mortalitie*.

were two Scottish doctors of theology among the four lecturers at the Kėdainiai college.⁴³ Although we cannot now know the details of their thought, it seems highly likely that their outlook was informed by the apocalyptic philo-Semitism that had become prominent in Scotland. This seems all the more likely given the Judeo-Christian environment they entered, and the stature of such figures as Samuel Rutherford and John Durie, both of whom cast long shadows over the Scottish intellectual world (and well beyond) during the next two decades. Kėdainiai was not the world of the ghetto, grudging tolerance, and tacit, nominal co-existence, but of mutual solidarity, cultural interpenetration, and high ideals. In a pre-secular world only the apocalypse could make that possible. In Poland, as in Britain, debate about the Jews was at the same time a debate about the Reformation, its purposes, and the human future.⁴⁴ Calvinist Scots saw their hopes in both these adopted countries as involving the Jews.

Despite these striking similarities between England and the East, the "*Korn Jude*" occurred only on the Continent. That difference arose perhaps more than anything else from the success of the mid-century British Revolutions. Although there did emerge a High Anglican anti-Semitic intellectual tradition, running from William Laud to T. S. Eliot, it never became the dominant strand within British political culture. Yet the similarities remain arresting, not least because in both regions the Scots proved a formidable force, a mighty engine. At issue everywhere was not nation but mission, not "identity" but world renewal. Only now in a world our own period, so preoccupied with nationalism and traditional religion, might it seem otherwise.

⁴³ Žirgulis, "The Scottish Community," pp. 229–30; Eriksonas, "The Lost Colony of Scots," pp. 173–87, esp. 179.

⁴⁴ See Williamson, "Union with England Traditional," pp. 303–22.

BRITAIN AND GDAŃSK (DANZIG) IN THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY AS A CASE STUDY FOR CULTURAL
TRANSFER—THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE
‘BOURGEOIS PUBLIC’ AND THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF
BRITISH RESIDENTS IN GDAŃSK IN A PERIOD
OF ENLIGHTENED ‘ANGLOPHILIA’

Almut Hillebrand

In 1706, when the commercial treaty between the town council in Gdańsk (Danzig) and the English crown was signed, the city could already look back on a long-standing tradition of trading relations with England and Scotland from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The treaty consisted of 17 articles which fixed, for the first time in the history of these bilateral relations, the legal and economic status of English and Scottish merchants within the city borders. Although the negotiations for the treaty were taking place from 1704 to 1706, just before the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707 was concluded, the text of the commercial agreement applied to both English and Scottish merchants. Since the Queen, as the ruler of England and Scotland, was the official guarantor of the treaty, it included all subjects from Great Britain. The first article of the treaty ran as follows: “As in former times and hitherto so hence forward it shall be lawful for the Subjects of Great Britain, viz. England, Scotland and Ireland, [...] to remain at Danzig without any molestation for so long a time as they please and to trade there [...]”¹ Furthermore, although the treaty had been signed in 1706 by the English ambassador John Robinson and the deputies from Danzig, it was ratified by Queen Anne as late as November, 1707. In general the eighteenth century saw rising economic importance of British merchants in Gdańsk corresponding with a growing British interest in the Baltic timber trade. For British merchants Gdańsk was the all important place to trade raw materials from the Royal Prussian and Polish hinterland for luxury goods from

¹ APG 300.R/Ii,15, *Commercial Treaty between the Crown of England and the City of Danzig* 22 October 1706: translated from Latin into English, article I.

England and its colonies since the English settlement in Elbląg (Elbing) had been closed down by a law passed by the Polish *Sejm* in Warsaw in 1628. Analysis of lists from the so called *Waaren-Conto-Bücher* in the *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku* containing the value of imported and exported goods for every shipper,² provides detailed information about the structure and value of British trade with Gdańsk and Poland. Between 1751 and 1754 nearly 50% of the total value of imports to Gdańsk was of British origin whereas the value of exports destined for Britain fluctuated between 8% and 19% of the total value of exports from Gdańsk. During the troublesome period between 1774 and 1778 when after the occupation of Royal Prussia by Frederick the Great Gdańsk was isolated from the hinterland and burdened by high custom duties, the British were able to maintain a 10–26% share of the total value of imported goods. After the city had been taken over by the Prussians in 1793, trade recovered quickly and a considerable number of merchants seemed to depend wholly on the fluctuating British demand for timber or grain. Theodor Behrend (1789–1851) and Friedrich Hoene (1776–1862), two Gdańsk merchants who associated with members of the merchant elite that traditionally engaged in British trade, described this specific one-sided trade structure of their business in their autobiographies and memoirs.³ Hoene even made a fortune by breaking the Continental System under Napoleon's rule, smuggling grain and timber to England and colonial goods to Gdańsk.⁴

German historiography of the first half of the twentieth century viewed the problem of English or British relations with the Polish and Ducal Prussian trading centres of Gdańsk, Elbląg and Kaliningrad (Königsberg) from a nationalist perspective which projected anti-English resentments and stereotypes into economic history. According to the political climate, the focus of topics was limited to aspects of antagonism, which led to an over-emphasis on the economic struggle for power between the Hanseatic towns and England especially during the Elizabethan era and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. During and after World War I especially, the issue of contact between England and Gdańsk was revitalised by a number of articles and pub-

² APG 300,19/42, *Waaren-Conto Buch 1751–1754*; APG 300,19/42a, *Auszug Buch von Eingekommenen und Ausgekommenen Waaren 1774–1778*.

³ Behrend, *Aus dem Tagebuch meines Vater*; Hoene, *Erinnerungen von F. Hoene*.

⁴ Hoene, *Erinnerungen von F. Hoene*, pp. 9–10.

lications by Paul Simson, Erwin Volckmann and Hans Fiedler⁵ which, as Fiedler put it, characterised the relations as “two hundred years of struggle between Gdańsk and England leading to complete war.” The commercial treaty of 1706, if mentioned at all, was seen as a defeat or an end rather than as the beginning of a new and fruitful period of relations. Post-1945 Polish historiography on English relations with Gdańsk and with the Polish Commonwealth, as represented by Henryk Zins, Andrzej Groth and J. K. Fedorowicz, also concentrated on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the dispute over the Eastland Company in Elbląg at the centre of attention.⁶

In eighteenth century works on local history there is a strikingly different perception of the British presence and their trading activities in Gdańsk. Daniel Gralath (1739–1809), a member of a patrician family, who published a history of Gdańsk in three volumes between 1789 and 1791,⁷ described the integration of English families during the eighteenth century as a success story. Gralath emphasised repeatedly the “friendly” relations between the city and Great Britain,⁸ described the conclusion of the commercial treaty as a “happy ending”⁹ while marginalising conflicts as “misunderstandings.”¹⁰ It is even more remarkable that Gralath considered the English families to be part of the establishment in the city having gained wealth and reputation as well as a social and economic position on a par with that of the Dutch.¹¹ The list of subscribers and sponsors given at the beginning of the first two volumes contains twelve names of British merchants and clergymen, six of them residing in Gdańsk, the other half in Hamburg and Kaliningrad.¹² They represent a self-conscious, well-established

⁵ Simson, “Die Handelsniederlassung der englischen Kaufleute,” pp. 87–143; Volckmann, *Der Grundstein britischer Weltmacht*; Fiedler, “Danzig und England,” pp. 61–125.

⁶ Zins, *Anglia a Bałtyk*; Zins, *England and the Baltic*; Zins, *Polska w oczach anglików*; Fedorowicz, “The struggle for the Elbing Staple,” pp. 220–30; Fedorowicz, *England’s Baltic trade*; Groth, *Kupcy angielscy*.

⁷ Gralath, *Versuch einer Geschichte*.

⁸ *Ibidem*, III, pp. 52, 209.

⁹ *Ibidem*, III, p. 250.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, III, pp. 359–363.

¹¹ See *ibidem*, III, p. 377: “Hienächst waren die Irrungen mit der Krone Großbritannien ins Vergessen übergegangen, und die Englischen sowol als die Holländischen Negocianten in Danzig beruhigten sich mit den vortheilhaften Situationen, worin ihre Familien und Handlungshäuser angesehen und reich wurden.”

¹² Daniel Gralath, list of subscribers and sponsors (Verzeichnis der Pränumeranten und Subscribenten) to *Versuch einer Geschichte*, vols. 1 and 2.

minority that was obviously well integrated into the cultural context of the bourgeois elite.

The discrepancy between how relations with the English were perceived by eighteenth century commentators on the one hand and later historians with their denial of the eighteenth century as a period of vibrant relations between English merchant families and parts of the city bourgeoisie in Gdańsk on the other leads into the question of cultural and social aspects of the English presence in Gdańsk during a period of growing English hegemony. The social and cultural impact of British families and their descendants in Prussian trading centres like Gdańsk has probably been underestimated. As early as 1958, the German historian Karl-Heinz Ruffmann emphasised the correlation between local networks of individuals based on economic relations and the transfer of English intellectual and material culture into trading centres of the Baltic.¹³ In his opinion, it was the task of the historian of the English-Scottish merchant colonies to show the intellectual and cultural interconnection between East and West for this particular region.¹⁴ In German historiography, this claim remained unheard except for substantial research on Kant and the Enlightenment in Kaliningrad by Manfred Kühn.¹⁵ For the Polish context, Richard Butterwick's study on English culture in eighteenth-century Poland and on the Anglophile Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1732–1798) revealed the complexity of Polish Anglophilia as a phenomenon that was chiefly imported from France. Knowledge about England generally reached Poland at second or even third hand.¹⁶ Bound to the Polish *Rzeczpospolita* politically, Gdańsk developed its own form of Anglophilia according to the specific opportunities and conditions as a trading centre ruled by the mainly German-speaking bourgeois elite and closely interconnected with Hamburg, London, Amsterdam and Kaliningrad.

The concept of cultural transfer, as defined by Michel Espagne and Matthias Middell, is not limited to a simple description of the movement of material goods, intellectual concepts and cultural symbols in space and the resulting intermixture and interaction but also includes the modalities, routes and motivations behind the transfer.¹⁷ Imported

¹³ Ruffmann, "Engländer und Schotten," pp. 17–39.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

¹⁵ Kühn, *Scottish Common Sense*; Kühn, *Kant*.

¹⁶ Butterwick, *Poland's last king*, p. 73.

¹⁷ Espagne and Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer," pp. 502–510;

from France, where it was developed within an interdisciplinary research programme at the CNRS, the idea of cultural transfer has already served as the theoretical background for a number of case studies in German historical research, the most typical being Katharina Middell's work on Huguenots in Leipzig.¹⁸ Applying the theory of cultural transfer to the issue of English and Scottish residents in Gdańsk, it is possible to single out two decisive questions: first, through which channels and by which media and instruments did elements of English culture trickle into the Gdańsk society, and second, what were the motives for a transfer of English literature, art and thought.

To understand the phenomenon of English cultural transfer in Gdańsk during the eighteenth century, it is important to analyse the different spheres in which English residents and citizens usually and regularly met. British residents were subject to the so-called "law for foreigners" (*Fremdenrecht*) excluding them from citizenship (*Bürgerrecht*) and granting them the inferior status of an inhabitant (*Einwohner*). In practice, this regulation meant exclusion from the most important political institutions, i.e., the Town Council and the Second and Third Orders, but also from other important public offices. The treaty signed in 1706 not only contained regulations relating to commerce and trade but also codified the legal status of the British residents by clarifying the duties and rights of an inhabitant. The second article of the treaty declared that a British subject who lived as lodger in the house of a Gdańsk burgher was only obliged to pay the usual customs for ships and goods inwards and outwards. No personal burdens as for example guardianship or being overseer of a church or hospital could be imposed on them. The same was true for British residents who had their own houses and families in Gdańsk with the exemption that they were treated as housekeepers equal to the status of inhabitants which meant the payment of specific taxes to the city.¹⁹

The article was ambivalent in so far as the exemption from taxes paid by burghers meant on the other hand exclusion from honorary offices, e.g., church overseer. The religious integration of British residents into church congregations, a central place for social activities and a mirror

Espagne and Werner, *Transferts*; Espagne, *Bordeaux-Baltique*; Espagne and Middell, *Von der Elbe*; Middell, "Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen," pp. 15–51.

¹⁸ Middell, *Hugenotten in Leipzig*.

¹⁹ APG 300,R/Ii,15, *Commercial Treaty between the Crown of England and the City of Danzig*, article II.

of social rankings within the community, was dependent on the English or Scottish origins of the residents. Scottish oriented families visited the reformed church of St. Peter and Paul where they constituted a sizeable minority, as shown by the matrimonial and baptismal registers of the eighteenth century.²⁰ Some of these Scottish families had immigrated to Prussian cities early in the seventeenth century and, in the eighteenth century, formed a strong group within the merchant class in Gdańsk. English-born or British oriented families after 1707 used the Anglican Chapel in the *Heilig-Geist Gasse* listening to sermons in English by their own preacher, a privilege which was granted to them in the commercial treaty of 1706.²¹ Whereas the latter was an exclusively British institution, it was St. Peter and Paul which offered a platform for manifold contact and stood repeatedly in the centre of Scottish-English cultural transfer.

Although British residents were not represented in traditional political institutions they could integrate themselves increasingly into influential circles by intermarriage. This process of integration into the family sphere of the merchant patriciate is characteristic of the eighteenth century and mixed the business with the private sphere, which once more underlines the social reputation British merchants and their descendants enjoyed within the citizenship of Gdańsk. Marriage between British merchants and daughters from the citizenry could be called a social event within a small bourgeois community. That is illustrated not only by a number of hymns of praise written on the occasion of wedding anniversaries²² and biographical documents²³ but also by statements of

²⁰ APG 356/4 (Mikr. 3399), *Kirchenbuch 1685–1750*; 356/6, *Alphabetischer Index der Trauungen der Jahre 1750–1876*.

²¹ APG 300,R/Ii,15, *Commercial Treaty between the Crown of England and the City of Danzig*, article IX.

²² BGPAN 107: Oc.64.2, *Den Tag, da Herr Kabrun mit Jungfer Spallin Hochzeit machte, schrieb ihm ein guter Freund zu Ehren was er dachte [...]*, Gdańsk: Thomas Johann Schreiber, 1758; 44: Oc.82.8°, *Am Hochzeitsfeste unsers lieben Vettters Jacob Kabrun mit Jungfer Mariane von Almonde. Den 6. September 1791*, Gdańsk: Johann Emanuel Friedrich Müller, 1791; 56: Oc.82.8°, *Dem Herrn Jacob Kabrun und der Demoiselle Henriette Lavinia Wagenfeld am Tage ihrer Vermaehlung. Den 16. October 1798*, Gdańsk: Johann Emanuel Friedrich Müller, 1798; 38: Oc.59.8°, *A Monsieur et Madame Gibsone à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de leurs nôces, célébré le 8. Janvier*, Gdańsk, 1777; Oc. 6618.8°, *Dem Herrn Archibald Gibsone bey Zurücklegung des fünfzigsten Jahres Seiner glücklichen Ehe*, Gdańsk: Thomas Johann Schreiber, 1778; Oc.6620.8°, Samuel Ludwig Majewski, *Rede zum Andenken der ehemaligen Gibsone- und Clerkischen Vermählung*, Gdańsk: Johann Emanuel Friedrich Müller, 1779.

²³ APG 300,R/Bb,20a.

contemporaries. The writer Johannes Daniel Falk (1768–1826), born in Gdańsk in the second half of the eighteenth century and later a member of Goethe's circle in Weimar, described the reputation which an English marriage in Gdańsk enjoyed in his autobiographical novel.²⁴ The general plot of the novel is a cliché in itself with the poor son of an artisan courting a patrician daughter. To underline the hopeless situation of the main character, Falk chose the most superior rival he could find for the setting in Gdańsk, that is a “young and rich Englishman.”²⁵ The dilemma of the patrician daughter who had to choose between the two candidates exemplifies the stereotype of an English marriage as synonymous with marrying into money. She says in Falk's words:

The Englishman complains about my indifference towards him: but oh my God! Is it my fault that I can't stand him regardless of all his money? He should realise that and save me the frustration [...]. I know very well that every step I have taken in that matter is the talk of the town [...] but I also know that he does not want to marry the town, but—me. And is it supposed to be appropriate to treat the heart of a young girl like Hamburg Banko [the currency of Hamburg] at the stock exchange?²⁶

But economic success and individual family connections alone would not have been enough to ensure a spread of English thought and culture to a broader public. Since the political sphere was closed to British residents and immigrants, their desire for public social activities had to find another forum. For the first time in the history of the English-Scottish colony in Gdańsk, the eighteenth century saw British residents consciously using the media and corporate forms of a newly emerging bourgeois public. The transformation of the public sphere in Gdańsk was characterised and even forged by members of the British minority. Ansgar Haller's recently published study²⁷ on the development of the “public sphere” in Gdańsk from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the second partition of Poland in 1793 presents an integrative model of the public sphere, which tries to avoid the sharp distinction drawn by Jürgen Habermas between a so-called “private sphere” and a “sphere of state authority” with a (bourgeois) “public sphere” developing out of the “private sphere” as an emancipatory process of a bourgeois

²⁴ Falk, *Leben, wunderbare Reisen*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 172–73. My translation.

²⁷ Haller, *Die Ausformung von Öffentlichkeit*.

elite.²⁸ In contrast Haller points out that the authoritative institutions in Gdańsk, i.e., the Town Council and the Second and Third Orders, should not be distinguished from the “public sphere” but rather seen as a public sphere of their own because their corporative character could integrate the bourgeois merchant class in Gdańsk.²⁹ On the other hand, while referring to a “bourgeois public,” Haller completely remodels the idea of Habermas using a sociological approach which claims that any process of communication is “public,”³⁰ thus offering three layers of communicative systems: the media, all kinds of official assemblies and informal meetings, i.e., in coffeehouses, pubs or simply of the marketplace.³¹

For the understanding of English cultural transfer in Gdańsk during the eighteenth century, Haller’s theory does not prove very helpful because he dismisses those parts of Habermas’ construct which best describe the situation of the British residents. For Habermas, the “private sphere” included bourgeois society because it encompassed the sphere of trade and commerce as well as the family. The “public sphere” was part of the “private sphere” in so far as it developed out of the “private sphere” as an emancipatory process of the bourgeois elite related to the use of new media and forums of bourgeois communication. It was the new quality of public communication within the bourgeois community which Habermas emphasised.³²

Bearing in mind the political exclusion of most of the British residents this private sphere as it was described by Habermas gains new importance. Trade, commerce and the family constituted the social background from which British inhabitants began to act within a newly emerging literary and political public sphere which was constituted by the press and the typical corporative associations of the Enlightenment period. Four out of five lodges in Gdańsk had English-Scottish merchants or their descendants among their members. Archibald McLean, who had immigrated to Gdańsk in the middle of the eighteenth century, was not only a member of two lodges but also one of the founders of

²⁸ Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*; for a version in English see Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*.

²⁹ Haller, *Die Ausformung von Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 15–17, 29.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 23–30.

³² Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 86–90.

a bourgeois club, the so-called *Ressource* “*Concordia zu den drey Ringen*”.³³ This club also numbered one of the most distinguished Anglophiles of Gdańsk among its members, the merchant Jacob Kabrun (1723–1796), whose son later became famous for his attempt to establish a Commercial Academy in Gdańsk.³⁴ Freemasonry was certainly an important form of assembling, but in Gdańsk it was not the only one. Founded in 1743, the Society for Natural Science (*Naturforschende Gesellschaft*) assembled, under a program of Newtonian experimental principles. It included a number of established merchants, medical doctors and clergymen, of whom several had undertaken journeys to England and several could claim to be descendants of English or Scottish merchants or were still British subjects. Relations with the British Museum and the Royal Society of London were remarkably close due to personal contact and to the appointment of so-called foreign or external members to the Gdansk organization like Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, president and librarian respectively of the Royal Society of London, or Gustav Brander, inspector of the British Museum.³⁵

The second phenomenon of English cultural transfer in Gdańsk was the development of an anglophile readership which could draw on local translations from English into German by Scottish- or English-born residents. This construction of a specifically “English library” in Gdańsk already started in the first half of the eighteenth century. Inspired by English examples like the *Guardian* or *Spectator*, Gdańsk saw the emergence of at least four weekly and monthly magazines between 1737 and 1765.³⁶ The author of one contribution in one of these first magazines, published in 1737,³⁷ was well aware of his stylistic roots when he wrote about the origin of his magazine in his introduction:

³³ Ansgar Haller, “Die Sozialstrukturen der Danziger Sozietäten,” in *Die Ausformung von Öffentlichkeit in Danzig im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 441–53.

³⁴ BGPAN, Oc.7740.8°, *Trauer-Cantate aufgeführt zur Gedächtnis-Feyer des Hn. Jacob Kabrun, in der Ressource im Duisburgischen Hause*, Gdańsk, 1796.

³⁵ Ernst Schumann, “Die einheimischen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft”; Ernst Schumann, “Die auswärtigen Mitglieder.”

³⁶ BGPAN Dc.2269.8°, *Der Teutsche Diogenes*, Gdańsk: Thomas Johann Schreiber, 1737; Dc.2260.8°, *Die mühsame Bemerkerin derer Menschlichen Handlungen. Mit einem Register*, Gdańsk: Thomas Johann Schreiber, 1737; Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, MP 20.470a; BGPAN Dc.2413.8°, Johann Anton von Waasberghe, *Sendschreiben einiger Personen an einander über allerley Materien*, Gdańsk: J.v. Waasbergs Witwe, 1748; Dc.2326.8°, *Der Kranke, eine Sittenschrift*, Gdańsk: Johann Friedrich Bartels, 1765.

³⁷ BGPAN Dc.2260.8°, *Die mühsame Bemerkerin derer Menschlichen Handlungen*, Gdańsk: Thomas Johann Schreiber, 1737.

The English, who are always industrious in enhancing the natural talents of their souls, had been the first to give their fellow countrymen something to read, which was intelligible to all and would serve the enhancement of their manners and morals. The coffee houses, which are visited by the most distinguished people according to national custom, soon attracted a growing number of people. Everybody was eager to get to know the new teacher of morals, a weekly magazine. It was first welcomed with the greatest pleasure. It was a novelty. But as soon as the human faults were characterised in too sensory a manner, a feeling of disgust overcame the readership.³⁸

Since the author also referred to the *Patriot* (1724–1726) in Hamburg, a German magazine modelled on the English example, it is very likely that the first magazines in Gdańsk drew on two sources: English magazines on the one hand and their German imitations on the other. At this time British residents do not seem to have played an active part in the emergence of these early examples of an Enlightened press in Gdańsk. Nevertheless there is proof that English magazines were read and used for the writing of articles in German. In his magazine *The Freethinker* (*Der Freydenker*)³⁹ published between 1741 and 1743, Johann Anton von Waasberghe introduced one of his articles with a letter, in which a young lady claimed to be in possession of a translation from the English *Guardian*. “I deliver to you the translation of a piece from the English *Guardian*, which one of my relatives staying with me at the moment drew up for her own pleasure.”⁴⁰ Even if the letter was fictional, and it almost certainly was, the article is early proof that English magazines were probably read in the original. Using advertisements placed by bookshops in Gdańsk’s leading weekly newspaper *Wöchentliche Danziger Anzeigen und dienliche Nachrichten*, published as early as 1739, as well as catalogues of the library of the Town Council (*Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis*, later *Stadtbibliothek Danzig*, since 1955 *Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk*), of private libraries and lists from auctions it is possible to analyse the massive spread of English literature and translations from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. Merchant libraries from the second half of the eighteenth century, for example those of Johann Uphagen (1731–1802) or Jacob Kabrun junior (1759–1814), already contained a high percentage of English publications, including

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 2. My translation.

³⁹ Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, MP 20.470a.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, January 17, 1742, p. 17. My translation.

not only contemporary magazines and literature, but also travel reports, political and historical works about the political system in England as well as books on science and new discoveries. Nine copies of Jean Louis de Lolme's publication on *The constitution of England, or an account of the English government, in which it is compared with the republican form of government [...]* have been found in the town's library dating from 1771 to 1819. Two of these copies can be traced back to the private libraries of Jacob Kabrun and Johann Uphagen.⁴¹

The growing interest of parts of the merchant elite in English literature and culture is part of the movement of "Anglophilia," which Michael Maurer described as a "fundamental preference for England, the Englishman and everything that was associated with the country"⁴² and which swept through Enlightened circles in the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" during the two decades before the French Revolution. Maurer also underlined the importance of the direct relations of individual territories and cities with Great Britain either through trading or dynastic connections, and described them as "structural conditions"⁴³ for the development of an anglophile character. An analysis of cultural transfer and its conditions in Gdańsk has to link these general tendencies of anglophilia to the specific local situation and the activities of British residents there.

In the case of Gdańsk, a number of British-born residents took an increasingly active part in the transfer of English literature and journalism to Gdańsk by using the local press market and the new forms of print media. Samuel Wilhelm Turner, a deacon at the Reformed church of St. Peter and Paul and of British origin, gave the literary public in Gdańsk an anglophile character by presenting a great variety of translations from English into German. From 1771 to 1778, Turner published the weekly magazine *Geschichte und Erzählungen*,⁴⁴ in which he offered careful critical readings of English literature.

⁴¹ BGPAN Kab.537.8°, Jean Louis de Lolme, *The constitution of England, or an account of the English government, in which it is compared with the republican form of government and occasionally with the other monarchies in Europe*, 4th edition, Dublin: printed for W. Wilson, 1776; Uph.o.4200-01.8°, Jean Louis de Lolme, *Constitution de l'Angleterre*, nouvelle édition corrigée sur la 4. édition anglaise, Genève: Barde, Manget & Co. et al., 1790.

⁴² Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie*, p. 15.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

⁴⁴ BGPAN Di.3576.8°, Samuel Wilhelm Turner, *Geschichte und Erzählungen*, I-X, Gdańsk: Daniel Ludwig Wedel, 1771-1778.

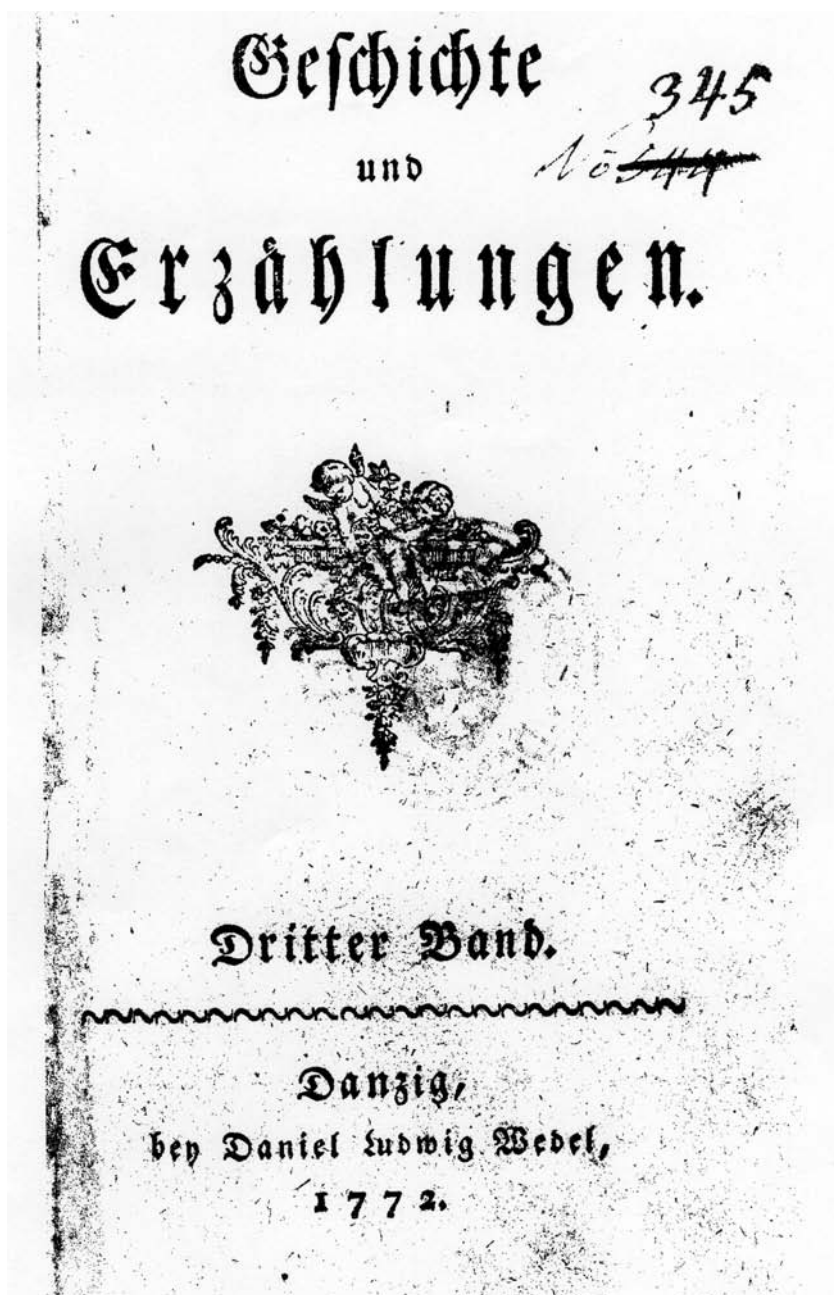


Figure 1: The title page to Samuel Wilhelm Turner's magazine *Geschichte und Erzählungen*, volume 3 (Gdańsk 1772)

The content of the magazine mirrored his own selection of texts which he translated to make them intelligible to a broader German readership. He never failed to inform his readers about the sources he was using. In his footnotes and introductory remarks he mentioned a broad range of English and Scottish magazines, for example *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, the *Scottish Magazine*, the *Annual Register*, the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Adventurer* from which he translated a great number of articles. But he also chose traveller's tales and stories about English and Scottish history as well as recently published novels and short stories. Turner also wrote reviews of the latest publications in Great Britain. For example in 1778, he introduced Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*⁴⁵ to a Gdańsk readership by giving a summary and a critical explanation of its content. In 1784, Turner continued his translation work. From 1784 to 1790, he published another very successful magazine, the *Danziger Wochenschrift*.⁴⁶ It was published in six volumes, one in each year, and was structured like his first magazine containing translations of English fiction and poetry along with articles on history, natural sciences, botany and geography.

In his selection of topics Turner certainly followed the interests and needs of the literary public in Gdańsk in order to make a profit, but he must also have been a leading shaper of literary taste in Gdańsk due to his countless publications of English literature. Johanna Schopenhauer, who was born in 1766 as a member of the merchant family Trosiener in Gdańsk and after her marriage to Floris Schopenhauer gave birth to the famous philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, described repeatedly in her memoirs the general interest of bourgeois families in English literature during her youth. Brought up in the vicinity of the assembly house of the British residents she was taught the English language from early childhood by the preacher of the English Chapel, Richard Jameson. He also introduced her to English thought and literature. Johanna Schopenhauer notes that Shakespeare's works as well as the *Spectator*, the *Tales of the genii*, the *Letters of the Lady Montague* and English poetry, for example *Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, X, pp. 340–352.

⁴⁶ BGPAN Dc.2432.8°, Samuel Wilhelm Turner, *Danziger Wochenschrift*, I–VI, Gdańsk: Daniel Ludwig Wedel, 1784–1790.



Figure 2: The title page to Samuel Wilhelm Turner's magazine *Danziger Wochen-Schrift*, volume 1 (Gdańsk 1784)

by Edward Young, *Paradise Lost* by John Milton and finally works of Alexander Pope, formed part of her English lessons.⁴⁷ The private library of the mother of a friend seems to have been equally important as it contained twenty volumes of novels translated from the English. According to Johanna's memoirs these novels, including *Sir Charles Grandison* by Samuel Richardson, had been her favourite reading matter and she regretfully remembers that it had been impossible to find a copy of Richardson's most famous novel *Pamela* in Gdańsk.⁴⁸ During her journey to England in 1803 she wrote the diary which she later published, in 1814. In it she referred to Lawrence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*.⁴⁹ The topics of some of her light novels, which she wrote after she had moved to Weimar in 1806, reveal once more her anglophile character. One of the novels was titled *Margaret of Scotland* (*Margaretha von Schottland*),⁵⁰ another describes the life of a poor English boy who had been adopted by a Russian noble family.⁵¹ The sentimental and romantic literature of English origin deeply influenced her perception of her environment. This was the result of her having come into close contact with standard English reading during her youth in Gdańsk.

In this context Turner's publication of weekly magazines during the 1770's and 1780's played a crucial role for the spread of English literature, while his translational work functioned as a bridge between the literary and scientific culture of the Britain and Gdańsk. The selection and presentation of topics by Turner as well as his comments on historical and political issues influenced the general perception of Great Britain and its culture in Gdańsk, but Turner was also inspired by the local situation. After the outbreak of the war of independence in North America in 1776, the bourgeois public in Gdańsk was exhilarated by news from the colonies as is obvious from countless articles about the war published between 1776 and 1782 in the most important, and only, political newspaper in Gdańsk, the *Historische und Gelehrte Neuigkeiten*. Turner, who had not yet been appointed deacon, reacted to this general need for information with a translation of Edmund Burke's *Speeches*

⁴⁷ Schopenhauer, *Im Wechsel der Zeiten*, pp. 47–49, 74, 87–89.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 147–48.

⁴⁹ Schopenhauer, *Reise nach England*, p. 67.

⁵⁰ Schopenhauer, *Margaretha von Schottland*.

⁵¹ Schopenhauer, *Richard Wood*.



Figure 3: The title page to Samuel Wilhelm Turner's translation of Edmund Burke's *Speeches and letters on American affairs* (*Jahrbücher der neuern Geschichte der Englischen Pflanzungen in Nord-Amerika seit dem Jahre 1755 bis auf itzige Zeiten*), volume 2 (Gdańsk 1777)

and letters on American affairs,⁵² to which he added several footnotes and explanations on the events in the colonies.

In the introduction to the first of four volumes Turner gave an insight into his own motivation for this difficult project. He pointed out that it was not only very difficult for citizens from Gdańsk to get a copy of Burke's publication in English but also that the only available translation into German was sold expensively in Berlin. For this reason he was happy to make this work accessible to a local readership at a reasonable price and directly in Gdańsk. Turner also emphasised that he had not just translated the text but had also explained incomprehensible connections and foreign terms to the Gdańsk readership.⁵³ He consciously used his privileged position as a former native to function as a mediator of political and historical knowledge about Great Britain. The earliest proof of Turner's role as a translator in Gdańsk is a publication from 1772 of a petition to the British Parliament for the abolition of the obligatory practice of signing the creed by English clergymen and academics.⁵⁴

Turner not only translated the petition but explained the general background of this practice in the Anglican Church to the German reader. He gave a complete translation of the Anglican creed and summarised the most important parliamentary speeches on this question. The notice of his appointment as deacon which appeared in the Gdańsk political newspaper, *Historische und Gelehrte Neuigkeiten*, shows that by 1781 Turner had already gained a considerable reputation in Gdańsk. Along with the announcement of his appointment as deacon in St. Peter and Paul, the notice referred to his translations mentioning

⁵² BGPAN 1739.8°, Edmund Burke, *Jahrbücher der neuern Geschichte der Englischen Pflanzungen in Nord-Amerika seit dem Jahre 1755 bis auf itzige Zeiten, aus dem Englischen übersetzt nach Erforderniß ergänzt oder abgekürzt und mit einer vorangesetzten Einleitung von dem Übersetzer begleitet*, trans. Samuel Wilhelm Turner, I–III, Gdańsk: Jobst Hermann Flörke, 1777–1780; Uph.o.5342.8°, Edmund Burke, *Jahrbücher der neuern Geschichte der Englischen Pflanzungen in Nordamerika. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt, nach Erfordernis ergänzt und mit einigen Zusätzen begleitet*, trans. Samuel Wilhelm Turner, IV, Gdańsk: Jobst Hermann Flörke, 1781.

⁵³ BGPAN.1739.8°, Edmund Burke, *Jahrbücher der neuern Geschichte der Englischen Pflanzungen in Nord-Amerika*, preface.

⁵⁴ BGPAN Nb.10422.8°, Samuel Wilhelm Turner, *Die Bitschrift an das Großbritannienische Parlament, wegen Abschaffung der Glaubensunterschriften. Nebst den Reden, die in dem Parlament über diese Bitschrift gehalten worden. Vorauf geht das Glaubensbekenntnis der englischen Kirche, welches zu dieser Bitschrift und deren Erfolg Anlaß gegeben*, Gdańsk: Daniel Ludwig Wedel, 1772.

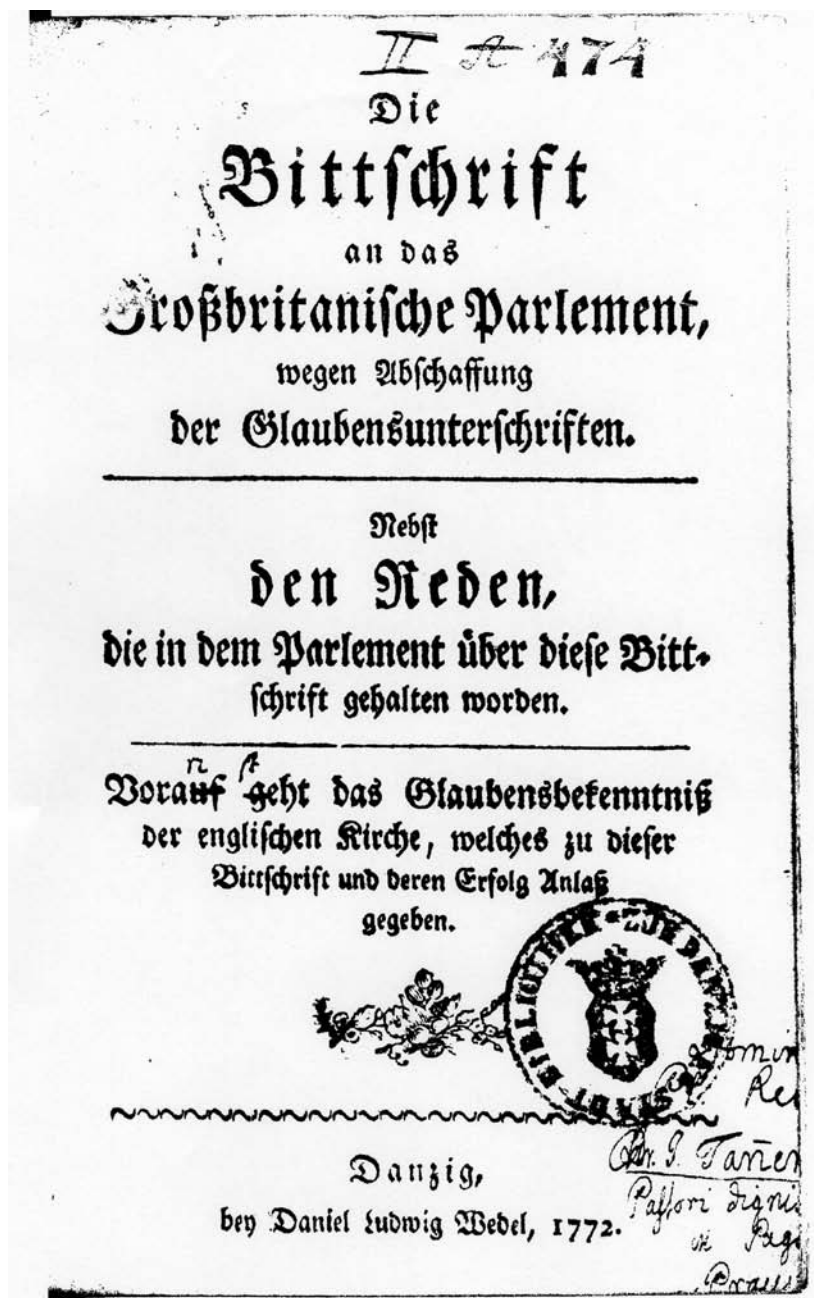


Figure 4: The title page to Samuel Wilhelm Turner's publication of a petition to the British Parliament for the abolition of signing the Anglican creed (Gdańsk 1772)

the Burke publication and his magazine *Geschichte und Erzählungen*.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the opinions and materials made available by Turner were not simply adopted wholesale by the educated elite in Gdańsk. According to Schopenhauer's memoirs, she had been an enthusiastic supporter of the American colonies and their struggle for freedom along with her young teacher, a theologian from Gdańsk, justifying her attitude with the republican pride she had been brought up with.⁵⁶ Even if we bear in mind that Johanna Schopenhauer wrote her memories many decades after she had left Gdańsk in 1793, her comments illustrate that Anglophilia in Gdańsk was not a process of one-sided reception by the citizenship in Gdańsk but that English material had to pass a filter which was defined by the republican and urban background of the readers.

In general from 1760 onwards, the presence of British merchants and English culture in the Gdańsk media grew significantly. The economic and political success of Great Britain and the spread of Anglophilia as a northern German phenomenon on the one hand joined with the traditional trading activities of the British in Gdańsk and the new platforms of public activity in an Enlightened bourgeois society on the other hand. In Gdańsk's most important newspapers, *Wöchentliche Danziger Anzeigen und dienliche Nachrichten* and *Historische und Gelehrte Neuigkeiten*, bookshops and printing houses regularly published lists of new publications which reveal a rising interest in English literature. These publications were not only imported but also translated into German in Gdańsk for a local readership. The *Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk* still holds a small number of light novels translated from English into German.⁵⁷ The translation of *The life of the late John Elwes* by Edward Topham, originally published in London in 1790, was printed in Gdańsk only one year later.

The translator, Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher, had attached a long list of explanatory commentaries at the end of the story which he

⁵⁵ BGPAN Uph.o.7971.4°, *Historische und Gelehrte Neuigkeiten*, November 9, Gdańsk, 1781, p. 106.

⁵⁶ Schopenhauer, *Im Wechsel der Zeiten*, pp. 84–85.

⁵⁷ BGPAN Di.25835.8°, *Das Landmädchen. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Wicherley*, Gdańsk: Daniel Ludwig Wedel, 1775; Di.19548.8°, *Die Reise nach London oder Geschichte der Familie Selby. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt*, Gdańsk: Jobst Hermann Flörke, 1775; Uph.o.6453.8°, Edward Topham, *Johann Elwes. Der größte Geizhals unsers Jahrhunderts. Eine wahre Geschichte*, trans. Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher, Gdańsk: Ferdinand Troschel, 1791.

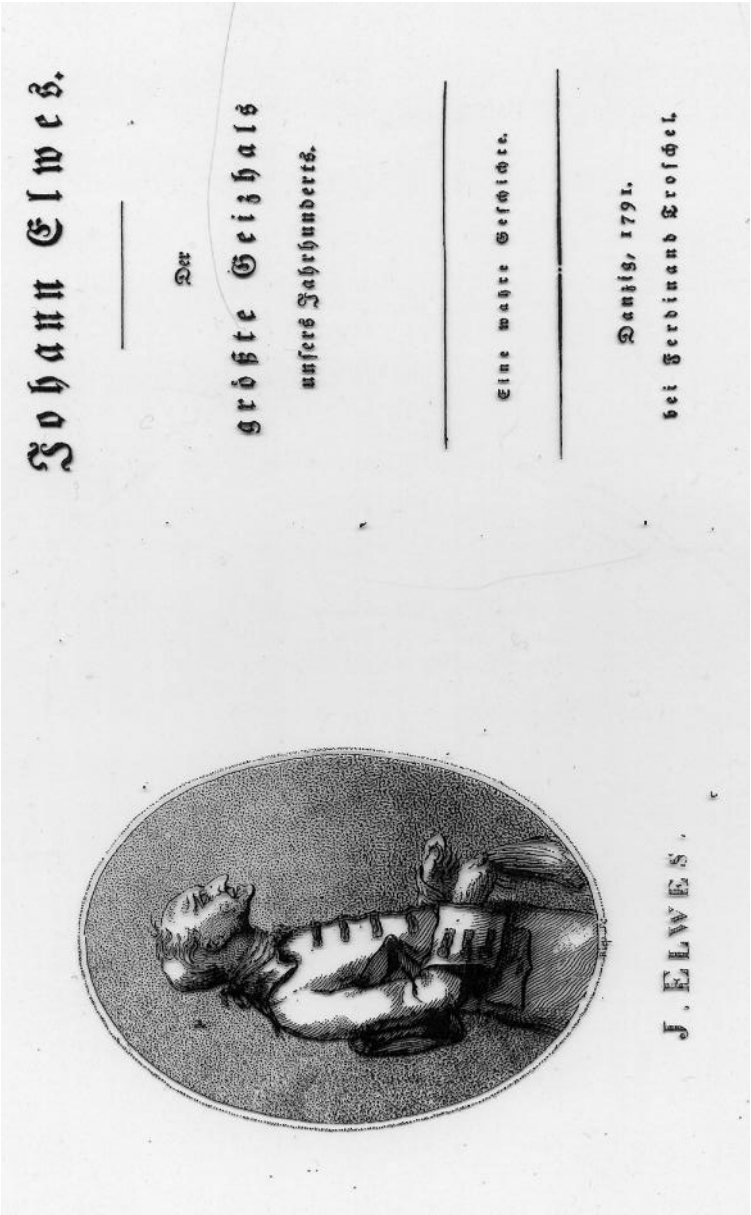


Figure 5: The title page to *Johann Elwes: Der größte Geizhals unsers Jahrhunderts*, translated into German by Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher and published in Gdansk in 1791

introduced as "Some remarks to explain certain passages in this biography for those readers who are not familiar with the English constitution."⁵⁸ This list of commentaries gave detailed information about the political system, the history and society of England and made the English background of the novel much easier to understand for local readers in Gdańsk. Light novels, which were read so enthusiastically by the bourgeois elite in Gdańsk, played a crucial role as mediators of English culture, lifestyle and customs. Besides the fact that they could be found in the libraries of many bourgeois women at this time, their emotional style appealed to a wider audience, not just to a narrowly defined group of convinced and academically educated anglophiles.

The role of the press and local imprints in the spread of English material leads back to the question of the transformation of the public sphere during the eighteenth century and its importance for the social integration of British residents in Gdańsk. In fact no other foreign nation established in Gdańsk could ever have claimed such a presence in the public sphere and in the minds of the local people. British residents or their descendants like Samuel Wilhelm Turner or Archibald MacLean successfully made use of the favourable situation in the second half of the eighteenth century and established themselves at the centre of a newly developed bourgeois public sphere. That status compensated them for places which were denied to them in the political sphere and served as the most obvious place or medium for English cultural transfer in Gdańsk.

In order to define even more precisely what English cultural transfer in Gdańsk meant, it is necessary to analyse the forums of the public sphere even more closely. This work is already under way. Recently published studies by Iwona Imańska and Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz⁵⁹ give a general overview of literary culture in Gdańsk during the Enlightenment. A specific approach, which would single out a certain branch of the vast material, is missing so far. That is being done. The construction of a specific "English library" in Gdańsk is an important part of my dissertation⁶⁰ on the phenomenon of English cultural transfer and Anglophilia in Gdańsk. One step is the quantitative and qualitative

⁵⁸ Balthasar Gerhard Schumacher, "Einige Anmerkungen zur Erläuterung einiger Stellen dieser Lebensbeschreibung, für Leser welche der englischen Verfassung nicht ganz kundig sind.," *ibidem*, p. 159. My translation.

⁵⁹ Imańska, *Obieg książki*; Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Gdańsk oświecony*.

⁶⁰ Hillebrand, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft "grossbritannischer Nation."*

analysis of the catalogues of private and public libraries and of book auctions. The investigation has to be completed using lists published by bookshops and local printing houses in the newspapers which also mirror the gradual conquest of the book market in Gdańsk by English publications and translations. Magazines published in Gdańsk during the eighteenth century constitute another important source. Besides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of their contents, they are compared to English and German magazines like the *Patriot* from Hamburg to identify local features peculiar to Gdańsk. The last group of material includes translations published separately, like the novels mentioned above or Turner's translation of Burke. By splitting the English material in Gdańsk into categories and topics it is possible to describe the interests of the readership in Gdańsk and the quality of the cultural transfer from Great Britain to Gdańsk in more detail.

IMPRESSIONS AND STEREOTYPES

SCOTSMEN AND THE POLISH NOBILITY FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Peter Paul Bajer

One of the least researched issues in relation to Scottish migration to Poland is the fate of naturalised and ennobled Scots, some of whom served as officers in the Polish-Lithuanian Army. Some aspects of their existence have been well recorded but, at the same time, the group has never been analysed or discussed in depth by historians dealing with Scottish migration to Poland. This paper examines the available data pertaining to migrants from the British Isles who managed to register their nobility status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from about 1640 to 1795.

When discussing the influx of Scotsmen into the Polish nobility in the sixteenth to eighteenth century, it is necessary to first define the meaning of the term ‘nobility.’ This is a difficult task as different understandings of that social class existed in Scotland and in Poland. There nonetheless were several similarities between the Polish and Scottish nobilities. First of all, in both countries, this was the most powerful social group. Its power was based primarily on its considerable control of the land. In both countries, that dominance increased in the latter part of the sixteenth century at the expense of the Church and the Crown. Secondly, in both countries it was the nobility who organised themselves and their followers for warfare, both private and at the request of the state. Nobles regarded lands in their possession and their honours and privileges as a rightful reward for this obligation to provide unpaid military service. Finally, the traditions of that group were among the most prestigious, especially the chivalric virtues of loyalty, honour, and martial valour, as well as reverence for ancient ancestry and family relations. In Scotland that was the kinship.¹

¹ Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*; Davies, *God's Playground*, I, pp. 201–55; Goodare, “Nobility 1500–1700,” pp. 457–58; Houston and Knox, *The Penguin History of Scotland*, pp. 211–13; Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 247–53; Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, pp. 92–104.

In Scotland, nobility was particularly difficult to define. Contemporaries usually thought of it as the titled peerage, which had established itself as the most affluent and influential aristocratic group around the mid-fifteenth century. This group consisted mainly of lords and earls, and later included dukes from 1581 on, marquises from 1599 on, and viscounts from 1606 on. Apart from being born into a family, one could be titled through a royal privilege. In 1560, the group consisted of 52 peers and, in 1603, its number had reached 59. Between 1603 and 1637, a flood of ennoblements began and by the latter date Scotland had 102 peers of whom 43 were ennobled or promoted. The numbers steadied and by 1714 there were 137 peers of whom 21 were newly elevated to the ranks of nobility or promoted.² Such grants were a direct result of the Union with England. James VI and I's move southward in 1603 created a vacuum in Scotland's political, social and cultural life. The new nobility was not created so as to upset the role of the existing peerage but rather to add to it and, by doing so, simply extend royal power and support.³ Below the peers there was the untitled baronage or untitled nobility, that is the lairds who just like peers were proclaimed as feudal tenants-in-chief of the crown and had a right to their own coats-of-arms and hereditary courts.

In terms of size, the nobility of Scotland has been classified as falling into an intermediate category, that is comprising 1 to 2 per cent of the total population. Most recent research reveals that at the end of the sixteenth century there were at least 1500 heads of noble houses, that is some 11,250 people, or 1.5 per cent of the total population of about 750,000.⁴ To be a tenant-in-chief, that is to possess a landed estate, was one of the most important prerequisites of a nobleman. Moreover, unlike Poland, Scotland did not have a closed class system. Thus, for example, the nobility of Scotland was allowed to be actively involved in trade. This was especially true of younger sons of nobles who, due to the generally accepted law of primogeniture where the inheritance was given to the eldest son, were forced to create their own positions in society and often sought fortunes as merchants or soldiers. Joining the military ranks was the preferred career as the culture of that time taught that the country gentleman, however poor, should look upon

² Houston and Knox, *The Penguin History of Scotland*, pp. 211–13; Lynch, *Scotland*, pp. 247–53; Goodare, “Nobility 1500–1700”, pp. 457–58.

³ Grosjean, *Scots and the Swedish state*, pp. 122–23.

⁴ Brown, *Noble Society*, pp. 14–15.

trade with contempt. This situation often led lairds and even younger sons of peers to migrate.

In Poland, unlike in England, France or Germany, apart from dozens of families who held the title of prince, there was only one class of nobility: *szlachta*. Although the word “nobility” is generally used as a translation of *szlachta*, as etymologically analogous and close in reference, it should be noted that *szlachta* was a class of people of which there is no precise equivalent in English. *Szlachta*, which is often referred to as the ‘knightly class’ or ‘knighthood,’ originated from the descendants of clan or tribe (Polish: *ród*) members, a system inherited from pre-medieval Slavic society.⁵ Origins of such clans remain something of an enigma. Detailed studies have so far failed to determine any consistent pattern of clan membership, however, it has been established that clans were not based on kinship as they were in Scotland. Polish nobles, unlike their Scottish counterparts, did not have to possess a landed estate in order to be recognised as members of the nobility. Apart from the propertied nobility, there also existed tenant- and lease-holding nobles (*szlachta czynszowa*), noble small holders (*szlachta zagrodowa*), landless and serf-less nobles (*hołota*) and town nobles (*szlachta brukowa*).

The inclusion of such people in the nobility made the estate extremely numerous by general European standards. Whilst in France or England nobility represented 1 per cent and 2 per cent of the total population respectively, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the mid-sixteenth century some 25,000 noble families, or at least 500,000 persons, represented approximately 7 per cent of the total population of 7.5 million. The share rose to 9 per cent in the late 1600s and still further in 1700s.⁶

All members of the Polish nobility had the right to their own coats-of-arms and sharing of the privileges of the estate. Members of the nobility occupied the highest offices in civil and military administration, and had a direct influence on government and politics through the *Sejm*. They constituted a formally closed class system. Members of *szlachta*, unlike their Scottish counterparts, were prohibited from engaging in commerce by the Constitutions of 1633 and 1677 under the penalty of losing their social status.⁷ Unlike in Scotland, there was no law of

⁵ Reddaway, *The Cambridge History of Poland*.

⁶ Davies, *God's playground*, I, p. 215. See also: Bush, *Rich noble, poor noble*, p. 7.

⁷ *VL*.

primogeniture. The laws of succession were based on customary division of property among sons and unmarried daughters alike.⁸

Finally, there was yet another significant difference. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, there was no stable institution like the office of Lord Lyon in Scotland or the King of Arms in England which would conduct systematic heraldic visitations, keep the pedigree registers, look after the genealogical records and safeguard heraldic laws. This lack caused two main problems: people usurping a right to noble status and to the use of the arms, and people using someone else's arms without official permission. This was further complicated by the fact that, unlike in Scotland or England, coats-of-arms were not the property of an individual. In Poland-Lithuania, as a general rule, a heraldic clan had one coat-of-arms which was shared by all its members. As a result, sometimes hundreds of most often unrelated families shared one coat-of-arms.

Overall, the principal difference between the nobility of Poland-Lithuania and the nobility of Scotland was the situation of each within the social structures of their realms. Poland-Lithuania had a closed class system with a populous nobility where the movement from class to class was, at least officially, largely restricted. In Scotland, on the other hand, the nobility was much smaller in terms of size and moving between classes was primarily connected to financial status and ownership of land.

While the Scottish nobility, even after the Union, remained a homogeneous social group—few married English heiresses or became Anglicised, even when living abroad—the Polish nobility, although by and large ethnically Polish, allowed into its ranks Germans, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Cossacks, Tatars, and neophytes. A large influx of foreign nobility was also accepted into Polish ranks during subsequent unions and incorporations of new parts to the kingdom.⁹ This, combined with the government's acceptance of minimal criteria for admission to the noble estate, failure to keep records of families entitled to the rights of nobility, and the Court failure to exercise their denobling rights, allowed the creation of a very populous estate indeed.

⁸ Davies, *God's playground*, I, pp. 211–25.

⁹ Unions between *Rzeczpospolita* and Royal Prussia in 1454, Ducal Prussia in 1525 and Livonia in 1561 extended privileges and heraldic law of the Polish *szlachta* to noble families of those jurisdictions. Klec-Pilewski, *Studies and Contributions to Polish History*, p. 26.

A formal entry into the ranks of the nobility could be achieved in one of two ways: either by *nobilitacja* (ennoblement), a warrant issued by the monarch to a person from a lower class, often a foreigner, by which the ennobled person had the right to bear arms and was entitled to all privileges of the nobles, or by *indygenat* (Latin *indigenatus*), an act of naturalisation, granted only to foreigners of noble origins. In all, around 2,140 such grants were ever registered. Almost half of them were issued by the last Polish monarch, King Stanislaus Augustus (1764–1794).¹⁰ Among the ennobled there were several Caledonians.

The grants of naturalisation were less common than ennoblements. Between 1519 and 1795, approximately 450 foreigners of noble descent became members of the Polish nobility. 37 Scots were given such grants which was 8 per cent of the total. The large number of naturalisations may suggest that among the migrants there was indeed a sizeable group of men who could have originated from the laird class, that is men able to prove their noble descent.

Evidence exists that may undermine this otherwise logical assumption. First, there have surfaced doubts about the authenticity of certain documents provided by Scotsmen to prove their noble descent. Second, one can question the status of foreign noblemen receiving naturalisation despite the fact that either their immediate ancestors or they themselves became involved in mercantile activity after their arrival in Poland. Finally, there is evidence suggesting wrongful classification, for example as naturalisations rather than ennoblements or vice-versa, which resulted from the apparent inadequacies of the system of formal admission to the noble estate.

Due to the ravages of World War II many documents used to prove noble descent lodged at the Chancellery were destroyed. The very few that survived show that amongst the naturalised Scots there were those who provided *bona fide* proof of belonging to a foreign nobility and those who most probably supported their claims by presenting fraudulent evidence. Unquestionable proof of noble status was provided, for example, by Peter Ferguson as part of his request for naturalisation in 1790.¹¹ On the other hand the documentation George Guthrie presented to obtain a naturalisation grant in 1673, including a letter patent certifying

¹⁰ *Album*.

¹¹ AGAD, No 3323; The College of Arms, MS. Grants 14, pp. 165–66; The College of Arms, I. 32, p. 240. I am grateful to Robert Yorke, Archivist at The College of Arms for his kind assistance with my queries and providing me with the above references.

ancient noble descent issued at Elgin on the 10th of September 1672, seems to have been falsified.¹² The Court officials, impressed perhaps by the document's formal qualities, failed to notice that such a warrant should be issued by the sovereign under the Great Seal or by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, but in this case it was issued by neither (Figure 1). Moreover, it appears that William, Earl of Moray, who was listed as the main signatory of the document, did not really exist.¹³

More research in Scottish archives may be required to establish if such falsification was a singular case or whether it represented a more common tendency. What is certain is that some Scots must have managed to enter the ranks of nobility and fuse with that estate in an informal way. Szymon Konarski, the famous twentieth century Polish genealogist, collated lists of names which appear in the documents of the Protestant nobility and bear witness to their Scottish origin, but which do not appear in any official rolls of grants of ennoblement or naturalisation.¹⁴

Research is also needed to establish the immediate ancestry of naturalised Scots. It is uncertain what happened to those who undoubtedly were of foreign noble origin, but whose ancestors or they themselves became involved in commerce and, by so doing, according to Polish law, faced voluntary loss of noble status. Such was the case of Peter Ferguson mentioned above whose forbears became commoners in Poland. It is unclear how it was possible for him to petition for admission to the Polish nobility on the grounds that he himself was a foreign nobleman when in fact he was a commoner, and why he was admitted through naturalisation rather than through ennoblement. His example was not singular in this respect. Of similar background were the Taylor brothers, naturalised in 1775, as well as John Robert Watson, naturalised in 1791. Perhaps it proves that the Constitutions of 1633 and 1677 prohibiting noblemen from trade under the penalty of losing their social status were not being honoured, at least not by the second half of the eighteenth century and not for foreigners.

The cases of Guthrie and Ferguson show that the documents tabled to support applications for naturalisations, as well as warrants produced

¹² "Original Charter," p. 1.

¹³ The Earl of Moray in 1672 was Alexander, son of James, Innes of Learney, "Letter to Cristiano de Guttry." I would like to extend my gratitude to Richard Gutry who made available a photocopy of this letter.

¹⁴ Konarski, *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce*.

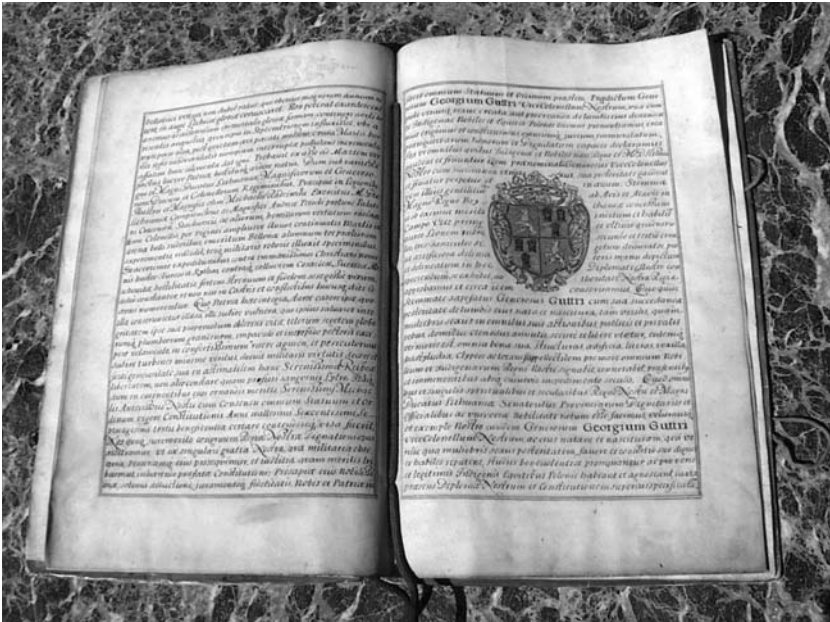


Figure 1: Pages from the Letters Patent given to George Guttri (Guthrie), issued in Warsaw, on the 3rd of June, 1681

by the Chancellery, deserve much closer scrutiny, too. Despite the fact that a full set of papers produced in the process exists only for the two above-mentioned cases, the Court registers contain brief information on several other documents tabled to support applications. The descriptions of papers produced by Gardiner and Gordon in 1673, Bennet in 1676, Mier in 1726, Watson of Priestfield in 1791, and Forsyths in 1793 show that the petitioners used birthbrieves produced by civic authorities rather than documents issued under the Great Seal by the Lord Lyon or the King of Arms.¹⁵ Thus, the birthbrieves conferring supposedly foreign noble status were not different from documents certifying lineage presented by Scots trying to acquire civic rights. The very impressive documents adorned with the coat-of-arms of the ruling monarch and forbears of petitioners, like the one presented by Patrick Forbes in Gdańsk in 1669, must have swayed Court officials into believing in

¹⁵ The documents state that they presented genealogies. In the cases of Forsyths and Watson briefs were issued by the City Council of Edinburgh. Forsyths' brief has been witnessed by James Hunter Blair. *Album*, nos. 1070, 1088, 1036, 1399, 1847, 1848, 2511.

the legal importance of such documents.¹⁶ This further highlights the deficiencies of the Chancellery, the lack of understanding of differences between the nobilities of the two realms, and the lack of awareness of the roles of the Court of Lord Lyon and the College of Arms in keeping records and issuing confirmations of noble descent.

Another aspect of documentation associated with the ennoblement/naturalisation process that has not been examined before is the issue of the coat-of-arms appearing on the grants. Based on surviving examples depicted, or at least described, in the primary sources, several observations can be made. Firstly, it appears that the coats-of-arms were copied by the Court notaries directly from the documents supplied by petitioners. The shapes of the heraldic shields, styles of helmets or mantlings, show an unquestionably Scottish/English influence. The best example of this style is a coat-of-arms granted to Gordons in 1768, which contains an English-style helm and mantling, and even a wreath instead of a crest coronet. Secondly, it appears that the men were granted arms not uniform with Scottish/British heraldic law. The Acts of the Scottish Parliament of 1592 and 1672 stated that arms are individual and can be passed to one's descendants upon the armiger's death. Thus, the Acts clearly stated that while an armiger is still living, his descendants and relatives might display those arms by differencing them with cadency marks. Such marks were supposed to be used to distinguish the arms of an armiger from those of his first son, second daughter, and so on. The coats-of-arms that appear on the Letters Patent of Scots admitted to the Polish nobility in most cases depict the plain arms which, according to the Scottish heraldic law, were to be used only by the Clan Chiefs. Under the same law every cadet was to obtain a properly differenced coat-of-arms distinguishing him from the Chief. Apart from the arms granted to Ferguson and Gordons in 1768, all other heraldic achievements awarded to the cadets, have not been properly differentiated. This reinforces the earlier observation that a majority of documents presented at the Court came from authorities other than the Lord Lyon's Office or the College of Arms.

¹⁶ Patrick was a son of Robert Forbes of Mowney and Margareta Farquhar. His birthbrieve with the coat-of-arms of King Charles II was decorated on the sides with four arms: Forbes of Forbes, Farquhar of Norham, Skene of Skene, and Forbes of Tolquhoun. It was witnessed by Duncan Forbes of Camphill and Joannes Forbes. APG No. 01058.

It should be stressed that the figures of both the total number of ennoblements and naturalisations, and the number of ennobled and naturalised Scots, are by no means definitive. Moreover, as mentioned before, there was no official roll of nobility in Poland-Lithuania, as there were no official court heralds who would have kept such records. Taking this into account, and on the basis of the various secondary and primary sources available, a number of men of Scottish origin of unquestionable noble status has been identified. 37 received acts of naturalisation¹⁷ and 16 were granted ennoblement.¹⁸ In comparison there were only nine men of either English or Irish origins who were either ennobled or naturalised.¹⁹ Another two were given titles.²⁰ A title of baron was conferred on Trevor Corry, English Consul in Gdańsk, by Stanislaus Augustus in 1773 (Figure 2).²¹ A title of Count was bestowed in 1771 on an Irishman, John O'Rourke, Chamberlain at the Polish Court in France, by King Stanislaus Leszczyński.²²

Another twenty-odd families of Scottish or Irish origin were noted as noble families in a variety of primary sources, but at the moment it is impossible to establish when or on what grounds they received noble status or if such instances were merely caused by usurpations. The civic books of Kraków, for example, give names of several men of unquestionable Scottish origin who were listed as noblemen but who do not appear amongst the records of naturalised or ennobled Caledonians.²³

By looking at the numbers of grants of ennoblement and naturalisation of men of British origin, some further generalisations can be made. First of all, there was a predominance of Scots amongst the ennobled and naturalised. Of all 44 grants of naturalisation 37 (84

¹⁷ See Appendix I.

¹⁸ See Appendix II.

¹⁹ See Appendix III.

²⁰ Although granting of titles, or use of foreign titles by Polish noblemen was banned by *Sejm* resolutions of 1638 and 1641, the monarch, however, retained the right to grant titles to foreigners. VL III, pp. 441–42, no. 931; VL IV, pp. 8–9, no. 8–9; VL V, pp. 73, no. 119. See also Wdowiszewski, "Tytuły polskie," III.

²¹ *The Letters Patent granting the title of Baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry*, Document No. 438, sygn. D 30, cited also in Bukowiecki, *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych*, p. 224; and also Wdowiszewski, "Tytuły polskie," p. 24.

²² Leitgeber, *Nowy almanach błękitny*, p. 110.

²³ James Fyffe (Fayff) in 1655; John Young (Junga) in 1668; John Friedrich Smith (Smidt) in 1680; Alexander Smith in 1680; John Taylor (Tayler) in 1690, all cited in: Urban, "Nieznana szlachta," pp. 153–66, esp. 155, 162, 164.



Figure 2: Pages from the Letters Patent granting the title of Baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry, issued in Warsaw on the 20th of October, 1773

per cent) were given to Scots, two (4.5 per cent) to Englishmen, and five (11.5 per cent) to Irishmen. This number of Scots would rise further if some of the men listed at the moment as of unknown British origin were in fact of Scottish descent. The same is true of the ennoblements, where 14 grants were given to Scots and two to Englishmen. The disproportionately high number of Scots can be explained by the fact that there were indeed large numbers of Scottish migrants and also a sizeable contingent of Scottish troops in Poland. It is also important to recognise that amongst the Scots there were nearly twice as many naturalisations as ennoblements, which suggests that among the grant recipients there could indeed have been a sizeable number of men of noble Scottish origin.

Further examination of the data reveals that of the total 53 ennobled or naturalised Scots, 31 (60 per cent) received their grants during the second half of the eighteenth century from the last Polish monarch Stanislaus II Augustus. The rest of the total of grants, that is 22 (40 per cent) were issued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These figures show that many Scottish families reached the highest social posi-

tion during the time when the migration from Scotland, as reported by some historians, was non-existent and the number of Scots in Poland declined significantly (Figure 3).²⁴

The data also show that the grantees were involved in different professions and that the overwhelming majority followed military careers. Of the 53 Scots identified who received either naturalisation or ennoblement from Polish monarchs, a staggering 73.6 per cent (39 men) were army officers.²⁵ Other occupations included: bankers 11.3 per cent (six men), Catholic clergy 3.7 per cent (two men), counselors/doctors 3.7 per cent (two men), while the occupations of four are unknown.²⁶ This clearly shows that military service was the best route to social advancement among the Polish-Caledonians. This was possibly because a large percentage of the Scottish military men were, rightfully or not, regarded by the Polish court as being of noble origin in the first place, and because the officers would be affluent enough to finance associated costs. Apparently a military career was potentially very profitable. The income earned from commanding a company was

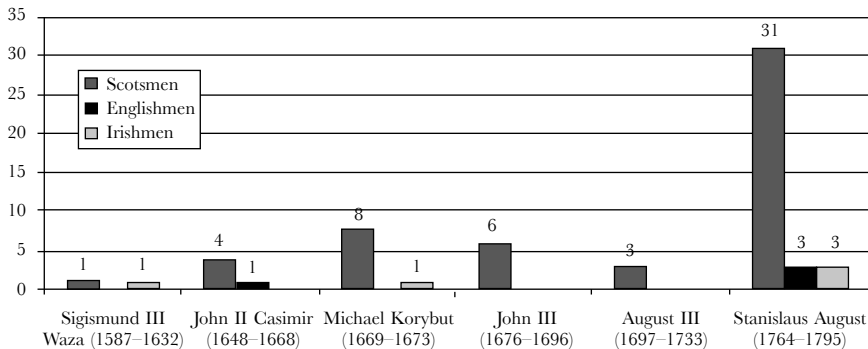


Figure 3: Ennoblement, Naturalisation Grants to Scotsmen, Englishmen, and Irishmen in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1564–1795

²⁴ According to Guldon's research on the settlement of Scots in the Sandomierz province, they began to disappear in that area as a separate ethnic group during the second half of the seventeenth century. Guldon, *Żydzi i Szkoci*, pp. 24–25.

²⁵ Similarly a military career was the most common among ennobled or naturalised English- and Irishmen.

²⁶ Men who held religious positions belonged to the Roman Catholic clergy and all retained the function of canon at the time of the grant.

comparable to the revenue raised from a good land holding, and that from a regiment to the earnings from an estate.²⁷

The lists of grants of naturalisation and ennoblement to military men of Scottish origin can be looked upon as one of the indicators of the changes occurring within traditional Polish society. Perhaps they could be even seen as one of the first symptoms of the erosion of the old class system and the emergence of a new type of society where the nobility developed into a professional rank.²⁸ This expanding role of the nobility in Europe continues to be a topic of study and debate, and yet, apart from the work of Biegańska, although she does not look specifically at the role of the Scottish nobility, most research fails to appreciate the role of such Scotsmen in Poland.

The religious background of the naturalised and ennobled Scots at the time of the grant is by far the most difficult detail to establish. Of all 53 Scotsmen, the religion of only 32 is known. Approximately 62 per cent of those 32 (20 people) were Presbyterians²⁹ and the others belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.³⁰ On two occasions, however, the documents show that the naturalisation or ennoblement would become legal only after conversion to Catholicism. The figures clearly confirm that religious tolerance in the *Rzeczpospolita* was by and large respected, and that social advancement was not hindered by religion, which was the case in Scotland. In addition, it should be noted that some Protestants who were admitted to nobility received their grants most probably thanks to the support extended to them by Polish Protestants. The best example of such sponsorship is the case of the Radziwiłłs. It is possible that during the period 1673–1676 this family sponsored at least four different grants given to Scots whose names appear in the parish

²⁷ Jedlicki, *Klejnot i bariery*, p. 64.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 205.

²⁹ Protestants include: George Bennet (nat. 1673); John Maitland (nat. 1673); James Gardiner (Kordymier) (nat. 1673); Peter Ferguson-Tepper (nat. 1790); Peter Gotard, John Charles, Philip Thomas and Francis Martin Forbes (Fribes) (nat. 1790); George Gordon (nat. 1676); George Guthrie (nat. 1673); James, George, Robert and William Low (nat. 1775); Patrick Middleton (nat. 1768); William Mure (Wilhelm Mier) (nat. 1726)—converted to Catholicism ca. 1726; Robert John and Joseph Taylor (nat. 1775); John Robert Watson (nat. 1791).

³⁰ Catholics: Joseph and Rev. John Kanty Forsyth (nat. 1793); Henry Gordon (nat. 1658); Joseph, Joseph, John, and Fabian Gordon (nat. 1768/1783); John James Gordon (nat. 1699); Rev. Thomas and Anthony Haliburton-Stuart (enn. 1793); John and Alexander Lindsay (enn. 1764).

books in Kėdainiai (Kiejdany).³¹ The men not only lived on the Radziwiłłs' estate but also served in their private army. The elevations to the nobility could have been part of the Radziwiłłs' efforts to champion the Protestant cause. This would constitute yet another, even if less common, reason for ennoblement.

The genealogies of Scottish families admitted to the nobility provide evidence of consanguinity within the Scottish expatriate community. A good example of blood relations is well presented in the genealogy of the Taylor family, naturalised in 1775. It shows that the Taylors were related to the Forsyths, Forbes, Turners, and to the Polish branch of the Gordons of Coldwells to mention but few.³² Their network of contacts stretched from Aberdeen, through Gdańsk to Kraków, and was used to transact business, promote relatives to important positions, and to maintain blood ties back in their homeland. This feature of Scottish families was not only true of families living in the *Rzeczpospolita*. The letters of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries and his family circle, reveal a similar consanguinity also among the Caledonians in Russia.³³ The same was also true of Scots in Sweden.³⁴

The marital trends displayed by the Scots admitted amongst the ranks of Polish nobility deserve closer inspection. Of all 53 Scots ennobled

Table 1: Nationality of Wives of Scots Naturalised and Ennobled in Poland-Lithuania in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries

Century		Scots	Ethnic Poles	Foreign ancestry (German, French, Dutch)	Unknown nationality
17th	Scots	3	—	2	2
	Sons of Scots	—	2	—	—
18th	Scots	—	1	2	—
	Sons of Scots	1	5	4	—

³¹ Major George Bennet, Captain John Maitland, Major James Gardiner and Captain George Gordon. *Parish registers* 1641–1795, Fond 606, Ap. 1, bb. 144–50, 324, 336–F. 1218, Ap. 1, b. 390a.

³² Taylor, *Historia rodziny*, pp. 1–14.

³³ Dukes, “Patrick Gordon,” pp. 19–49.

³⁴ Grosjean, *Scots and the Swedish state*, p. 141.

or naturalised in Poland between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, only 22 are known to have been married. Another two are known to have belonged to the Catholic clergy, and further one died a bachelor. The marital status of the remaining Scots is unfortunately unknown.

The following analysis should be treated, therefore, as an indicator of trends rather than a definitive depiction of events, as the source material is defective. The spouses of Scotsmen and their descendants are not always listed and often their nationality is impossible to ascertain. Nevertheless, some interesting observations can be made. It is quite clear that the majority of Scots married local noblewomen. Such marriages occurred primarily during the eighteenth century. They involved sons or descendants of Scots, who had been already or had just converted to, Catholicism. This was not the case amongst the Scots ennobled or naturalised during the seventeenth century who seemed to prefer marrying fellow Scots, or their descendants. The data collected from the second half of the seventeenth century shows that marriages were conducted not just primarily between Scottish men and Scottish women, but also between Presbyterians. While a groom at the time would more likely be a first generation migrant this was not the case for the brides. Examination of the ancestry of the Scottish brides reveals that their parents often tended to be Scots already living in Poland. It appears that the bride was often of non-noble rank. Moreover, some of the Scots women were married more than once, and usually to other Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³⁵

Not much else is known about the plight of Scottish noblewomen in Poland. Either the names of women in general were omitted from vital records altogether, or women were known only by their Christian names. In a period when arranged marriages were common for Scottish noblemen to marry their social equals there must have been Scottish noblewomen amongst the migrants. Their numbers, however, were much smaller than the numbers of males. This was the general trend of the Scottish migration to the *Rzeczpospolita*. But not all Scottish noblewomen arrived in the Commonwealth to become brides of their compatriots. The most famous Scottish noblewoman in Poland, Catherine,

³⁵ Sophia nec Plummert (possibly Plumber or Plummer) was first married to Captain Ferguson and, after his death, to George Gordon. Marriage record of 22 January, 1662, Evangelical Reformed Church of Kėdainiai (Kieydany) (Lietuvos Velstybes Istorijou Archyvos, Vilnius), "Šluby 1641–1795."

daughter of George Gordon 2nd Marquis of Huntly, and a twin sister of the before mentioned Colonel Henry, arrived in Poland as a maid of honour, at the court of Mary Lodovica de Gonzaga, Queen of Poland. In 1659 she married Count Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, the Grand Treasurer of Poland, a diplomat and one of the most important Polish poets of the seventeenth century.³⁶ Thus Catherine married into one of the most prominent noble families of Poland. One of her great-grandsons, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1732–1798), was elected King of Poland.³⁷ While Catherine was born in France another prominent Scottish woman of noble origin was born most probably in Poland. Elisabeth, daughter of Thomas Cumming of Culter, the younger son of an Aberdeenshire laird and merchant of Kraków and an unnamed Cochrane, became famous because of a love affair. In 1717 she wed John Christie of an eminent Kraków burgess merchant family. Her marriage to her fellow-countryman did not last too long. Soon after Elisabeth met one of the most influential noblemen of Poland, Prince Teodor Lubomirski (1683–1745). It is unknown for how long the affair lasted, but her first marriage ended in divorce. After converting to Roman Catholicism Elisabeth married her noble lover in St Mary's, Kraków on 11 May, 1727. As a result Elisabeth of noble Scottish stock, but under the Polish law, a common burgess, married the most illustrious and excellent Prince Lubomirski.³⁸

Overall, the data reveal characteristics similar to those recorded amongst the Scottish expatriate community of noble rank in Sweden.³⁹ It shows that it was common for Scots who migrated to Poland-Lithuania and were admitted to the nobility to marry their compatriots. On the other hand, ennobled or naturalised sons and daughters of Scottish expatriates more often chose Polish spouses who usually were of noble status. This was also true of their offspring. The changes in matrimonial patterns reflect a gradual replacement of a largely Scottish circle with a Polish one. A higher rate of integration that took place during the second half of the eighteenth century, which can be observed amongst

³⁶ Bulloch, *The Gordons in Poland*, pp. xiv, 107.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 29–34; Przyboś, “Henryk Gordon de Huntley,” VII, p. 302.

³⁸ Elisabeth was not the only woman of Scottish descent who married a Lubomirski in her generation. In 1718 Maria Bielińska, granddaughter of Lady Catherine Gordon, Countess Morsztyn, became the wife of Prince Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski, cousin of Prince Theodore. Cameron and Polaczek, “Diploma of Nobility,” pp. 53–56; Zielińska, *Poczet polskich*, pp. 140, 145.

³⁹ Grosjean, *Scotland and the Swedish State*, pp. 140–42.

the Scots belonging to other social strata, confirms the gradual decline of the earlier community which identified itself by its Scottish origins.

Genealogical data, like those available for the Forsyth or Taylor families, show that while the naturalised or ennobled men in the seventeenth century were more often than not first generation migrants, the eighteenth century grants were given to men who were second or third generation Polish-Scots.⁴⁰ The Taylors, naturalised in 1775, were of the third generation. The evidence suggests that the discrepancies outlined above could have had several different but not mutually exclusive explanations. First, strong support shown to Scottish Presbyterians at the beginning of the seventeenth century by great Calvinist families of Poland-Lithuania could have been advantageous for promotion into the nobility of newly arrived migrants. The records of the Calvinist parish in Kėdainiai (Kiejdany) contain names of a number of first generation Protestant Scots who were elevated to the ranks of nobility thanks to the support of the Radziwiłłs, the foremost influential Calvinist family in the *Rzeczpospolita*. Second, the inconsistency could have been a consequence of changes in migratory patterns. A substantial number of migrants went to Poland-Lithuania at the end of the sixteenth and in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This migration, however, had virtually come to a halt in the years after 1650. Last, it may also suggest the slowing down of assimilation processes and a slow but steady rise to prominence of some Scottish families (Figure 4).

Several conclusions can be drawn from this short survey. The data demonstrate that vast differences existed between the nobility of Poland-Lithuania and that of Scotland when it came to organisation, prerogatives, and roles in society. Reasons and procedures for receiving noble status as a reward for service to the country were vastly different in each location. It appears that in Scotland ennoblements were seen by the Stuarts as a way of maintaining and developing personal support among nobles, whereas in Poland-Lithuania several different reasons appear to have existed for ennoblements and naturalisations. The most common rationale was rewarding services to the Crown, most notably services of the military kind. With the military developments of the seventeenth century, the never-ending military campaigns on the Commonwealth's borders and the increased need for infantry, the court and *Sejm* alike were looking to entice able organisers and

⁴⁰ See Table 1.

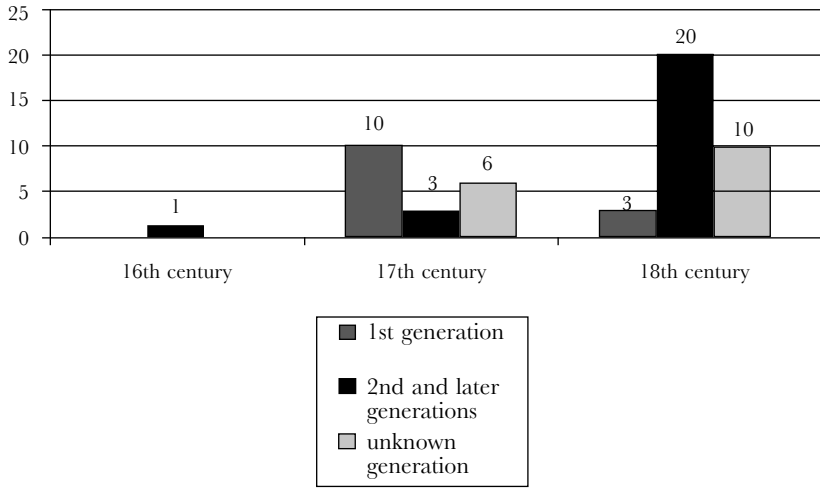


Figure 4: Ennoblements, Naturalisations and Grants of Titles by Generations

tacticians into their service. It seems that at times military service went almost hand in hand with naturalisation or ennoblement, or at least was well rewarded. The very large proportion of grants given to Scots who made their names on the battlefield throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is testimony to that state of affairs. This was especially true of migrants of the laird class, as shown by the number of naturalisations, but also of men of lower status who were prepared to enter careers as mercenaries. Later, in the eighteenth century, one can also trace individuals who were rewarded for services of a different kind such as financiers and entrepreneurs who had shown support to the Court. The remarkably high rate of military men amongst those promoted to noble status was constant throughout the period under investigation, but other characteristics tended to vary. While first generation Scots tended to receive the majority of grants in the seventeenth century, the names of sons of Scots, both second and third generation, tend to appear in the eighteenth century letters patents. Another previously unrecognised reason for promotion into the nobility was possibly the service given to some of the most influential families of the Commonwealth and support for their causes. The probable sponsorship of Scottish Presbyterians by the champions of the Protestant cause in Lithuania, the Radziwiłł family, may be a prime example. This situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth allowed for social

advancement from a wide range of social ranks and positions. Those already regarded as being of noble background were seemingly always allowed advancement through naturalisation.

The proportionally larger number of naturalisation grants in comparison to pure ennoblements may suggest that among the migrants there was a larger group of younger sons of lairds, forced to migrate because of the primogeniture rules in Scotland. On the other hand, the example of the naturalisation of George Guthrie and the existence of flawed documentation that was used to obtain the grant, may indicate an alternative but not mutually exclusive explanation. The discrepancy may have been a result of incompatible understandings of noble status in the two countries, problems with translations, or even fraud. Although the ultimate form of upward social mobility that allowed for advancement of individuals of non-noble origins was ennoblement, it appears that a considerable number of Scots managed to enter the ranks of the Polish nobility in an informal way. This in turn indicates a tacit approval by the court and the noble estate of the practice of acquiring nobility through formally illegal ways, through assumption, acquiring of landed property, or marriage. It is also clear that such practices occurred more often at the frontiers of the Commonwealth, that is in less populous areas and often with the support of magnates or other influential families.

The study of religious backgrounds of Scots promoted to the nobility in Poland-Lithuania reveals that Presbyterians dominated in the seventeenth century, while more Roman Catholics entered noble ranks in the eighteenth century. The survey shows that Scots affiliated with the Calvinist church managed to preserve their ethnic identity for a longer time than their Roman Catholic compatriots. It has been established, however, that some converted to Roman Catholicism only to fulfil ever more restricted conditions of naturalisation. The conversion to Roman Catholicism seems to have been especially prevalent among descendants of newly created nobles and is comparable to the rate of intermarriage amongst their offspring. Although some of the children of Polish nobles of Scottish extraction managed to retain the creed of their fathers, their assimilation was equally quick as they tended to marry social equals, more often than not Poles. Thus ennoblement and naturalisation should be seen as a final and most profound step of assimilation. The genealogies of some of the families ennobled or naturalised in the eighteenth century, for example the Taylors, show that in the preceding generations, Scots generally resisted intermar-

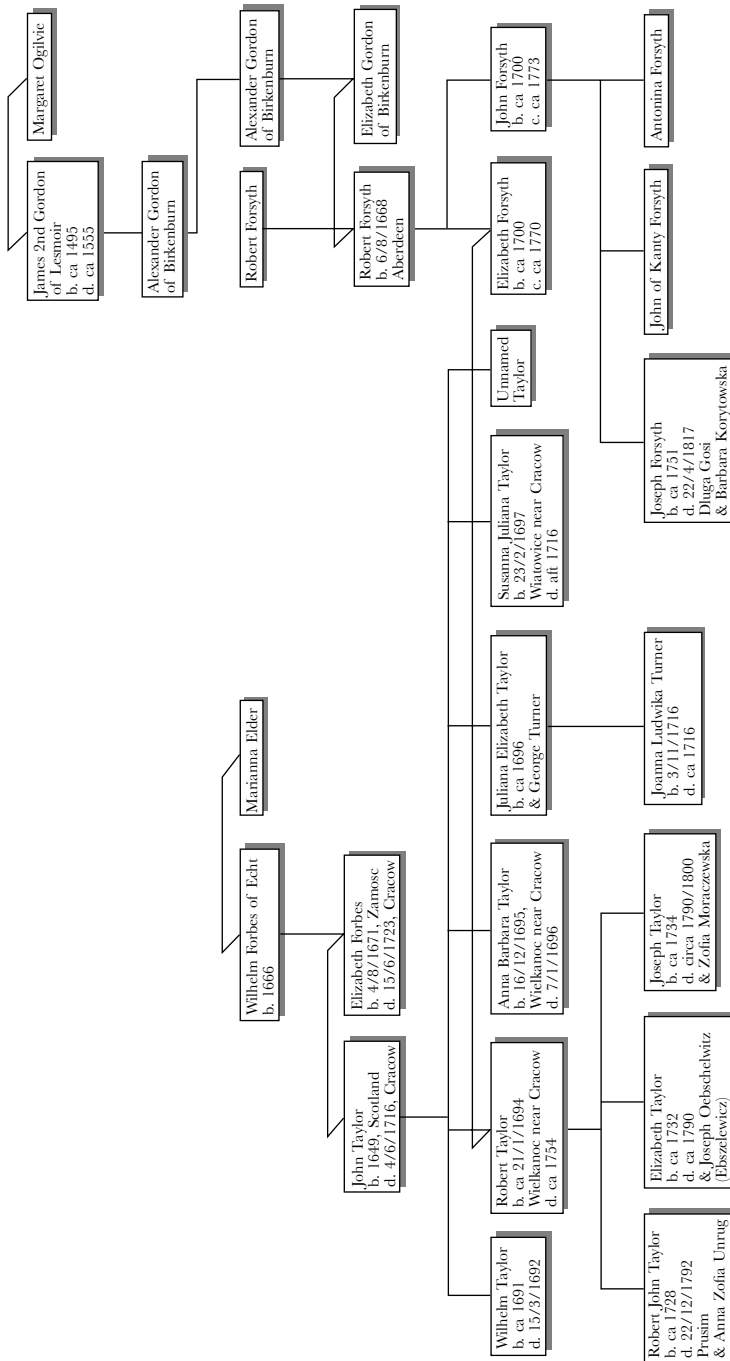


Figure 5: Taylor's family circle

riage and instead preferred marriage within their own ethnic group (Figure 5). Their identity was primarily retained through family, that is through kinship networks, and the connection to the Presbyterian Church. Moreover, the survey demonstrates that Scots affiliated with the Calvinist church managed to preserve their ethnic identity for a longer time than their Catholic compatriots.

The pattern of admission to the noble rank, in terms of numbers, is comparable with the situation in Sweden, where the state was reliant on building up the nobility and bringing in foreign investors to aid in territorial expansion and thus was keen to promote the Scots. During the period 1611–1697 some 85 Scots were ennobled there. Through their service to the Crown they were elevated to the ranks of Swedish nobility.⁴¹ Likewise, then, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should be seen as a destination favoured by Scots seeking social improvement.

Finally, failure to establish families and/or failure to produce offspring, changes in the family fortunes, political and economic demise of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, migration elsewhere including re-migration back to Scotland, rapid assimilation into Polish society as a result of being admitted to the nobility or obtaining other important posts or offices, and finally conversion to Roman Catholicism—all these factors show the complexity of causes that led to the eventual disappearance of the Scottish ethnic group in the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

⁴¹ Grosjean, *Scots and the Swedish state*, pp. 109–145.

APPENDIX I

SCOTS GRANTED ACTS OF NATURALISATION, 1658–1793

1. Gordon of Huntley, Henry (1658)—VL IV, p. 263, no. 101.
2. Cook (Koch), George (1658)—VL IV, p. 265, no. 115.
3. Anderson, Peter Benedict (1673)—VL V, p. 88, no. 28.
4. Maitland (Meyfland), John (1673)—VL V, p. 88, no. 28.
5. Bennet, George (1673)—VL V, p. 88, no. 28; VL V, p. 216, no. 60 (presented genealogy and took an oath).
6. Gardiner (Kordymier elsewhere, also recorded as: Kordynier, Kordymer, and Gordinier), James (1673)—VL V, p. 88, no. 28 (grant); VL V, p. 219, no. 81 (submitted genealogy and took an oath).
7. Chambers (1673), James—VL V, p. 77, no. 84; VL V, p. 78, no. 87.
8. Chambers (1673), William—VL V, p. 77, no. 84; VL V, p. 78, no. 87.
9. Guthrie (Guttry), George (1673)—VL V, p. 78, no. 87.
10. Jefferyes (Dziafry), James (1676)—Polish sources and bibliographies do not contain records of this Patent. A copy of the diploma (the official records are kept in the archives of The College of Arms; archival reference for this document is as follows: Howard I, 22/33) is in the possession of Jeffereys' descendants. I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Stefan K. Kuczyński, the President of The Polish Heraldic Society who first alerted me to the existence of this document. Recently, an article about the heraldic achievement of Dziafry by A. Heymowski appeared. Heymowski, "Udostojnienie herbu Jakuba Dziafry," X, pp. 241–44.
11. Gordon, George (1673, 1676)—VL V, p. 88, no. 28.
12. Morrison (Mirrison), Alexander (1676)—VL V, p. 198, no. 167.
13. Morrison (Mirrison), William (1676)—VL V, p. 198, no. 167.
14. Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), Ian (1685)—VL V, p. 355, no. 62.
15. Lawson of Hymbie (Lausson), James (1685)—VL V, p. 355, no. 62.
16. Gordon, John (1699, 1768, 1783)—VL VI, p. 36, no. 31; VL VII, pp. 371–72.
17. Glover of Gleyden (Glower), Archibald (1726)—VL VI, p. 232, no. 25.
18. Mure of Rowallan (Mier), William (1726)—VL VI, p. 232, no. 24.

19. Gordon, Joseph [I] (1768, 1783)—VL VII, pp. 371–372, no. 798.
20. Gordon, Joseph [II] (1768, 1783)—VL VII, pp. 371–372, no. 798.
21. Livingston (Lewingston), John (1768)—VL VII, p. 372, no. 800.
22. MacPharlan, Peter (1768)—VL VII, p. 372, no. 800.
23. Middleton, Patrick (1768)—VL VII, p. 373, no. 800.
24. Low (Lowe), James (1775)—VL VIII, p. 166, no. 296.
25. Low (Lowe), George (1775)—VL VIII, p. 166, no. 296.
26. Low (Lowe), Robert (1775)—VL VIII, p. 166, no. 296.
27. Low (Lowe), William (1775)—VL VIII, p. 166, no. 296.
28. Mitchel (de Mitchel), John (1775)—VL VIII, p. 166, no. 296.
29. Taylor, Joseph (1775, 1782)—VL VIII, p. 167, no. 298.
30. Taylor, Robert John (1775, 1782)—VL VIII, p. 167, no. 298.
31. Gordon, Vincent (1780)—Wajs, 47, (KK 45/46, f. 3v); *Album*, no. 1619.
32. Gordon, Charles (1780)—Wajs, 47 (KK 45/46, f. 3v); *Album*, no. 1620.
33. Gordon of Coldwells, Fabian (1768, 1783, 1789)—VL VII, pp. 371–372, no. 798.
34. Ferguson-Tepper, Peter (1790)—VL IX, p. 189, no. 196.
35. Watson of Priestfield, John Robert (1791)—VL IX, p. 192; X, p. 342.
36. Forsyth (Forseyth), Joseph (1793)—VL VIII, p. 167, no. 299.
37. Forsyth (Forseyth), John Kanty (1793)—VL VIII, p. 167, no. 299.

Carl Petersen, who received letters patent in 1764, was mentioned in Biegańska, “Żołnierze szkoccy w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej,” p. 104. She listed him among naturalised Scots but he was a native of Schleswig. His coat-of-arms confirms his German descent.

APPENDIX II

SCOTS GRANTED ENNOBLEMENT, 1593–1793

1. Russel, Martin (1593)—*Album*, no. 586.
2. Boswell (Bazalski a Bozuel), Kazimierz (1662)—VL IV, p. 411, no. 96.
3. Innes (Hinnnes), Andrew (1662)—VL IV, p. 411, no. 96.
4. Ramsay (Ramz), unknown (1676)—VL V, p. 219, no. 83.
5. Lindsay of Balcarres (Lindsay), Alexander (1764)—VL II, p. 166, no. 99.
6. Lindsay of Balcarres (Lindsay), John (1764)—VL II, p. 166, no. 99.
7. Frier (Frejer), John Gotlieb (1790)—VL IX, p. 191 no. 202; VL X, p. 339, no. 42.
8. Forbes (Fribes), Peter Gotard (1790)—VL IX, p. 189, no. 197; VL X, p. 340, no. 42.
9. Forbes (Fribes), John Charles (1790)—VL IX, p. 189, no. 197; VL X, p. 340, no. 42.
10. Forbes (Fribes), Philip Thomas (1790)—VL IX, p. 189, no. 197; VL X, p. 340, no. 42.
11. Forbes (Fribes), Francis Martin (1790)—VL IX, p. 189, no. 197; VL X, p. 340, no. 42.
12. John, Jeffrey (1790)—VL IX, p. 192, no. 209; VL X, p. 341, no. 42.
13. Ogilvy (Ogilvie), John (1790)—VL IX, p. 198, no. 226; VL X, p. 339, no. 42.
14. Szott (possibly Scott), James (1791)—VL IX, p. 190, no. 202; VL X, p. 338.
15. Haliburton (Haliborton) Anthony (1793)—VL X, p. 341, no. 42; VL X, p. 338, no. 42.
16. Haliburton (Haliborton) Thomas (1793)—VL X, p. 341, no. 42; VL X, p. 338, no. 42.

APPENDIX III

ENGLISHMEN AND IRISHMEN GRANTED NATURALISATION AND ENNOBLEMENT, 1627–1775

Naturalisation:

Englishmen:

1. Donoway (Donowaj), John William (1654)—VL IV, p. 219, no. 475.
2. Corry, Trevor (1773). Polish sources do not contain records of this Patent. Corry is listed as one of the very few foreigners who received a title of Baron from the Polish Monarch (he was mistakenly listed as Corry Frevort in: *Księgi Kanclerskie* ks. 41, p. 223 and in *Księgi Sigillat* ks. 32, f. 232). *The Letters Patent granting the title of Baron and naturalisation to Trevor Corry, issued in Warsaw on the 20th of October, 1773*, Collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański, Bitburg. Document No. 438, sygn. D 30, shows that besides receiving the title, Corry also acquired naturalisation. I am grateful to Dr. Niewodniczański who kindly mailed me photos of this not well known document.

Irishmen:

1. Butler (Buthler), James (1627)—VL III, p. 265, no. 552.
2. O'Kelly (Okelli), Hugo (1673)—VL V, p. 88, no. 152.
3. O'Byrne (de Obyrn), George (1766)—VL VII, p. 185, no. 419.
4. O'Byrne (de Obyrn), James (1766)—VL VII, p. 185, no. 419.
5. O'Donnell (de Odonnel), Henry (1775)—VL VIII, p. 165, no. 294.

Ennoblement:

Englishmen:

1. Manget, John (1768)—VL VII, p. 372, no. 798.
2. Manget, Stanisław (1768)—VL VII, p. 372, no. 798.

As a contribution to the subject, I have also compiled a list of 22 grants given to men of unknown origin who could have come from the British Isles. While some names on that list are unquestionably British, i.e. John (ennobled 1790); other names, like Mein, Rohland (possibly Roland), Poleman, or Phillipson may be of German, French or British origin. Since their origins cannot be confirmed their names are omitted from this survey.

THE VIEW FROM THE MARGINS:
IRELAND AND POLAND-LITHUANIA, 1698–1798

Róisín Healy¹

The founding father of Irish republicanism, Theobald Wolfe Tone, invoked a parallel with Poland in his famous speech from the dock during his trial for treason in 1798. Referring to the rebellion organized by the United Irishmen earlier that year, he concluded his address: “I will not detain you longer; in this world, success is everything. I have attempted to follow the same line in which Washington succeeded and Kościuszko failed; I have attempted to establish the independence of my country; I have failed in the attempt.”² Like Kościuszko, Tone too had failed to oust his enemy—French military aid had proved inadequate and the British had suppressed the rebellion with little difficulty. Tone believed nonetheless that his efforts were as noble as those of the Polish commander. Kościuszko and he were engaged, he suggested, in an analogous struggle for freedom from foreign domination. In this way Tone helped to establish Poland as a significant referent for Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century. As an example of a once glorious country laid low, but determined to resist its conquerors, Poland provided inspiration to Irish nationalists. At the same time, it functioned as a weapon with which to attack the British. Irish nationalists branded the British hypocrites for expressing sympathy for Poland as a victim of great power aggression while continuing to subjugate Ireland.³ If Tone, his supporters and many Irish nationalists who came after him easily recognized the connection between Ireland’s colonial position and the recently partitioned Poland, however, the majority of observers in Ireland, let alone Britain, did not. While these decried the

¹ Research for this paper was aided by a fellowship from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

² Elliott, *Wolfe Tone*, p. 393. Elliott used the version of the speech contained in copies of the original found in Dublin Castle. Later versions made Tone appear more confrontational.

³ A good example is the poem by T. D. Sullivan, “Thiggin Thu?” Its first verse reads: “Oh, Freedom is a glorious thing; / Even so our gracious rulers say... Provided all the row and fight / Are out in Poland: Thiggin thu?” The title is a phonetic rendition in English of the Gaelic for “do you understand.” T. D. Sullivan, *Poems* (1882), Literature Online Database.

dismemberment of Poland, they did not see resistance to the partitioning powers as part of an international struggle against colonialism.

While Tone's comparison between Ireland and Poland was thus both novel and controversial, his preoccupation with events at home was typical of Irish discourse on Poland in the previous century. The relationship with Britain was the burning political issue in early-modern Ireland and formed the lens through which Poland was viewed. The importance of domestic developments in shaping Irish views of Poland should come as no surprise. It is by now a truism that perceptions of the foreign derive as much from self-perceptions as actual encounters with the foreign.⁴ But the lack of contact between Poland and Ireland, by contrast with England and Scotland, resulted in a particular imbalance. Only vaguely familiar with developments in eastern Europe for most of this period, Irish audiences could stretch the significance of Poland further than most, according to their purposes. The complexities of Ireland's social and political structure also allowed for many possible perspectives on Poland, as for example on America.⁵ Irish society was divided into natives and settlers; Roman Catholics and Protestants; Old English, who had come to Ireland in the twelfth century and remained Catholic through the Reformation, and New English, who had come in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were Protestant; and finally, Anglicans and Presbyterians. How these various groups might regard eighteenth-century Poland, itself undergoing a complex process of decline and collapse, was not clear. They might divide on religious lines, with Protestants critical of Catholic Poland, or on ideological lines, with opponents of absolutism, Catholic and Protestant alike, championing Poland's efforts at political reform.

Poland had only recently become an object of sustained discussion in Ireland when Tone made his speech in 1798. The lack of any obvious similarity between Ireland's relationship with Britain and events in Poland—knowledge of Poland's relationship with Lithuania was minimal—ensured that interest was relatively low. In the eighteenth century (and indeed later) the Irish spoke about Poland considerably less than a lot of other places such as Britain, France, and America. Poland was viewed as remote and largely irrelevant. Indeed, in 1755 a Dublin

⁴ For a discussion of the balance between the two factors, see Claydon, "Holland, Hanover, and the Fluidity of Facts," pp. 85–97.

⁵ Morley, *Irish Opinion*.

periodical made fun of the social type “state-pedant,” who could talk knowledgeably about the kings of Poland and Spain, but nothing else.⁶ Clearly, knowledge of Poland was not a useful commodity.

Lack of direct contact with Poland contributed to the relative lack of interest in the country among the Irish for much of the eighteenth century. Geography was in part responsible. While the eastern ports of England and Scotland gave easy access to the Baltic, Ireland’s more westerly situation had led to a southern orientation in shipping, towards France and Spain. In the Middle Ages, for instance, there is conclusive evidence of only one ship from Gdańsk reaching Irish shores.⁷ Trading patterns in turn influenced migration patterns. Virtually all of those who emigrated from the British Isles to Poland came from Scotland and England, rather than Ireland.⁸ The many Irish who left their homeland in the early modern period, especially after the Battle of Kinsale in 1601, settled instead in France, Spain, and, to a lesser extent, the Hapsburg Monarchy. The minority that ventured into the Baltic to find careers as army officers settled in progressively smaller numbers as they moved eastward. Sweden and Denmark proved more attractive than Poland, despite its Roman Catholic credentials, and Russia. According to Steve Murdoch, only eight Irishmen served as officers in the Polish army and three in the Russian in the period from 1580 to 1707. Of the former, five were members of the Butler family, all of whom served during the Thirty Years’ War. The most famous of these, James Butler, who entered Polish service in 1617, recruited other Irishmen to fight with him against Swedish forces in 1622.⁹ Another Butler family member also served the Polish king in the same period. Gotard Butler (1600–1661) graduated from a position as an official in the Polish crown chancellery to become court treasurer and *starosta* under King John II Casimir Vasa (1648–1668).

⁶ *The Spectator*, vol. 2, no. 105.

⁷ In response to my query, Maryanne Kowaleski has kindly provided details of three ships that had Irish connections: one Gdańsk ship carried Irish goods, possibly collected from an Irish port, CPR 1381–85, p. 500; another, the *Katherine of Gdańsk*, carried wine to Waterford, in southeastern Ireland, CCR, 1405–9, p. 210; and mariners and merchants from Gdańsk participated in an attack on a Dutch ship docked at Dalkey on the eastern coast, CPR, 1436–41, pp. 270–71.

⁸ Krawczyk, “The British in Poland,” pp. 254–72.

⁹ Murdoch searched his database on my behalf and discovered 34 Irish officers in the Swedish army, 42 in the Danish, and three in the Russian, SSNE. For more on the ethnic background of soldiers in the Baltic see Frost, “Scottish Soldiers,” pp. 191–213; Grosjean and Murdoch, “Irish participation in Scandinavian armies...,” pp. 283–84.

His brother, Wilhelm Butler served in the king's guard. Gotard was not born in Ireland, however, and it is unclear when and under what circumstances his ancestors came to Poland.¹⁰ More well known is the Irish-born Bernard Connor, who reached Poland in 1694 and served as physician to King John III Sobieski for much of that year. Although he recommended Poland as a destination, few, if any, Irishmen followed in his footsteps. Young Irish gentry making their Grand Tour confined themselves to western and central Europe.¹¹ Nor did many Poles travel in the opposite direction. Even Poles, such as Stanislaus Poniatowski, who made it as far as England, did not normally make the additional crossing to Ireland. A notable exception was the dwarf entertainer, Józef Boruwlaski, who visited Ireland in 1783–84 and spent most of the 1790s there.¹²

Whatever direct contact did take place between Irishmen and Poles normally occurred outside their homelands. Connor came to Poland as a result of having met Poles in Paris, Italy, and Germany, and it is likely that other Irishmen, whether resident on the continent or making the Grand Tour, encountered Poles who were themselves traveling in western Europe.¹³ Contact also occurred through third parties. Some British soldiers and administrators in Ireland had experience of Poland and might have shared it with their new neighbours. One of the earliest English commentators on Poland, Fynes Moryson, for instance, served as secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Mountjoy, between visiting Poland in 1593 and writing an account of his extensive travels.¹⁴ A contemporary of Moryson's, Josias Bodley, came to Ireland in 1598 as an officer in the English army after a spell engaged in commerce in Gdańsk. He drew at least one tenuous link between Ireland and Poland. In an account that celebrated the abundance of drink offered by his host, who happened to be Moryson's brother, in Lecale, Ulster, Bodley launched into a tirade against those who refused to drink alongside their

¹⁰ I am indebted to Wojciech Krawczuk for this information, which he found in Czapliński, "Gotard Butler," pp. 150–51.

¹¹ Barnard, "Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities," pp. 217–22.

¹² Boruwlaski put advertisements for his appearances in the local newspapers of towns he visited and to publicize his memoirs, for example, *Northern Star*, 15–19, 19–22, and 26–29 Oct., 1795. His memoirs contain descriptions of contemporary events in Ireland, Boruwlaski, *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski*.

¹³ Connor, *History of Poland*, I, p. ix.

¹⁴ Moryson served in Ireland from 1599 to 1602, and wrote his diaries between 1606 and 1617. Thompson, "Moryson, Fynes." Moryson, *An Itinerary*, on Poland see esp. IV, pp. 67–73.

companions and recalled approvingly an occasion in Poland when the companions threw the guilty party unceremoniously onto the street.¹⁵

Interest in Poland was not simply a function of contact, in any case. Events in Poland also played a role. Connor explained his decision to write down what he had learned about Poland as a response to queries about the election of a new Polish king following the death of King John III Sobieski in 1696. The result was the first English-language account of Poland, *History of Poland in Several Letters to Persons of Quality*, which appeared in London in 1698 and ran to over seven hundred pages. Connor used his intimate knowledge of Poland, gained from his own experiences, readings, and conversations with influential figures at court, to provide a comprehensive description of Polish history and customs. Beyond the author's surname, however, readers could find no indication that the book was written by an Irish hand. Connor wrote it in English rather than his native Gaelic and made only one reference to Ireland in the text, and this in a discussion of Polish dress. He likened the Polish cloak to an Irish mantle.¹⁶ The author identified himself exclusively with the English through formulations such as "our English gentry." The addressees of his letters were all English-born, and few of these had Irish connections.¹⁷ His identification with England was political as well as personal. A central message of the text was the superiority of the English system of government. In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Connor insisted that, "*England* can justly boast of a much greater Happiness, than either *Poland* or any other Kingdom of *Europe*" [italics in original].¹⁸ He argued that the king of Poland had too few powers and that the elective character of the monarchy encouraged greed and intrigue. He also castigated life-long political appointments and the *liberum veto*. According to Connor, the dangers of the Polish constitution reached right down the social spectrum. He concluded that Polish peasants were as badly off as "our Negroes in the West Indies."¹⁹ While acknowledging that the king of

¹⁵ "Sir Josias Bodley's Visit to Lecale," in Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish history*, pp. 334–35. His presence in Gdańsk was confirmed by a reference to him by the English ambassador in Poland, McGurk, "Bodley, Sir Josias."

¹⁶ Connor, *History of Poland*, II, p. 196.

¹⁷ Two addressees were related by marriage to leading figures in the Irish administration: Laurence Earl of Rochester, was the son-in-law of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, who served as joint lord justice 1629–1632, and William Duke of Devonshire was the son-in-law of James Butler, Duke of Ormond.

¹⁸ Connor, *History of Poland*, II, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

Poland guaranteed protection to all faiths in the realm, he noted the ban on non-Catholics in certain state offices and highlighted the spirit of intolerance exhibited by Poland's Roman Catholics towards other confessions exemplified by their refusal to marry or even contract alliances with those outside the faith. He also found fault with the Poles' religious practice, claiming that they did not observe the rules on fasting, behaved licentiously, and ignored clerical direction.²⁰

If ostensibly English in his allegiance, Connor's condescension towards Poland was not exclusive to England. In his path-breaking work, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994), Larry Wolff revealed how a series of western travelers to eastern Europe in the early modern period imagined eastern Europe as a distinct region characterized by mystery, injustice, and backwardness. These thus helped to displace the older cultural dichotomy between North and South in favour of a new East-West division, which lasted until well into the twentieth century. Although Wolff neglects to consider Connor's *History of Poland* as an instance of the Enlightenment's project of "inventing Eastern Europe," the text shared much in common with those of the travelers whom he describes. Like Voltaire and Fichte after him, Connor placed Poland in an intermediary sphere between barbarism and civilization.²¹ If more generous than many early modern observers, his assessment of the Poles bore the same assumption of western European superiority. In a typical back-handed compliment, he declared that the Poles were "not so barbarous nor so unpolish'd, as they are generally represented." He conceded that French influence had brought them closer to Europe, but clearly believed that the deficit was great: "not only the rough Temper of the Poles is made more polite, and their Behaviour more civil, but likewise their Judgment improv'd, and they themselves rendered more capable of knowing their own Interest."²² For Connor, the contrast between his own approach to learning and that of the Poles exemplified the grave disparity between East and West. He had come to Poland in the hope of learning from Polish scholars, but found nothing but dogmatism and lack of curiosity. The native histories of Poland that he read to alleviate his boredom consisted of "credulous and superstitious" stories. He included a handful of these in his own narrative only to

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 50–51, 194.

²¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*.

²² Connor, *History of Poland*, I, p. v.

“show how the Ignorance of some, and the unfair Relations of others, have impos’d upon the World in all Ages.”²³

While Connor’s assessment of Poland was not unusual, it is ironic that it came from the mouth of an Irish Catholic. For observers from across the Irish Sea had been using similar claims about the Irish since the twelfth century to justify their conquest of Ireland. If anything, Ireland emerged in this discourse as less civilized than Poland ever did. Writing in the 1180s, Giraldus Cambrensis explicitly described the Irish as “*barbari*” and decried their ignorance, superstition, and rudeness.²⁴ Four centuries of contact, with a fair share of violence, did nothing to alter this view. In his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1598, Edmund Spenser offered an uncompromising picture of Irish savagery and recommended the complete replacement of the native social and political order as the only means to establish English rule and the Protestant faith. He even placed the Irish in the same line of descent that Wolff’s observers later placed eastern Europeans. According to Spenser, the Irish were principally derived from the Scythians, who were commonly taken for the most barbaric of all ancient peoples.²⁵ Spenser’s text exerted huge influence over generations of English administrators in Ireland, who read it in manuscript form before its publication in 1633. Moryson was among its early readers, and writing his own account of Ireland, he, too, spoke of the “inhabitants’ barbarousness” and compared them to “wild beasts.”²⁶ The irony evident in Connor’s using similar, if less harsh, terms to describe the Poles appears all the greater in his replicating of specific charges from this discourse against the Poles. Connor’s indictment of the lethargy of Polish intellectuals had its parallel, for instance, in Moryson’s earlier assertion about the laziness of the Irish. His condemnation of the Poles’ religious laxity was prefigured, first in Pope Adrian IV’s appeal to Henry II in 1155 to intervene in Ireland, and later in repeated justifications of English rule, especially after the Reformation, when Protestantism became the ultimate mechanism of moral reform.²⁷

As a member of a native Irish family and a Catholic, Connor himself had been victim of the policies practiced by the English in the name of

²³ *Ibidem*, p. ix.

²⁴ Leerson, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael*, p. 35.

²⁵ Spenser, *A View of the Present State*, p. 47.

²⁶ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 58; Leerson, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael*, pp. 51–52.

²⁷ Leerson, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael*, pp. 34–40.

civilizing Ireland. As a consequence of anti-Catholic legislation, he had enjoyed only a rudimentary primary education in an illegal make-shift school known as a hedge school and had been forced to go to France for his university education.²⁸ A few explanations might be offered as to why Connor adopted the rhetoric that had been used against his community and overlooked the religious intolerance that he himself had suffered. The first possibility is that he was simply unconscious of the similarities between English discourse on Ireland and his own on Poland. He was undoubtedly familiar with English views of Ireland and Irish refutations of them, such as Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, which appeared in 1629.²⁹ But equally, Connor had read previous accounts of Poland and might have internalized the belief that Poland was so removed from the West to the point that he could see no connection between it and his home place. His references, to works in Latin, French, and Italian, certainly indicate that he saw himself writing within a European, rather than an Irish, tradition. And there is plenty of evidence that the Irish shared the prejudices of the British towards other outsiders.³⁰

At the same time, Connor was an astute observer, and even if he was blind to similarities in discourse, it is likely that he recognized religious intolerance as a feature of Great Britain and Ireland as well as Poland. The second possibility therefore is that he was so convinced of the merits of Protestantism that he approved of religious intolerance as practiced against Catholics, but not against non-Catholics. As Nicholas Canny has shown, it is a mistake to think of all Irish Catholics of the time as inveterate enemies of English rule.³¹ Certainly Connor's medical works, treatise on miracles, and discussion of the location of a soul in the *History of Poland*—he resisted the Roman Catholic notion that it was in the body as a whole—suggest a scientific disposition that made him critical of the supernatural content of the Roman Catholic faith of the majority of his countrymen.³² His conversion to Anglicanism after leaving Poland might be read as the obvious culmination of this scepticism.

²⁸ Dalitz and Stone accept the authenticity of William Hayley's claims in this respect during the sermon he preached at Connor's funeral. Dalitz and Stone, "Doctor Bernard Connor," p. 16.

²⁹ Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating*.

³⁰ Kenny, *Ireland and the British Empire*; Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*.

³¹ Canny, *Making Ireland British*.

³² Connor, *History of Poland*, I, p. 180.

The third and most compelling possibility is that Connor recognized parallels with Ireland but chose to ignore them. Two Oxford academics, the physicist R. H. Dalitz and the Polish language scholar G. C. Stone, have suggested plausibly that his insistent celebration of English institutions was purposeful. They believed that Connor was trying to ingratiate himself with his hosts in order to make a career for himself in England. As well as converting to Anglicanism, he anglicized his surname, by dropping the O from O'Connor.³³ The suppression of an Irish perspective in writing the *History of Poland* might have been another attempt to win the support of the establishment that was so crucial for success in his career. There are some indications that Connor might have been more critical of the English than he pretended. While he was at Oxford in 1695, his conversations gave rise to suspicions that he was conspiring to undermine English rule in Ireland.³⁴ Contemporaries also doubted his conversion, and with good reason. An Irish priest arrived at Connor's deathbed and appeared to give him the last sacraments as a Catholic through the medium of Gaelic.³⁵ Connor had spent his formative years as a member of an Irish exile community in France, notorious for their commitment to the complete restoration of Catholicism in a self-governing Ireland. If Connor did not share this community's Tridentine Catholicism, his actions suggested that his praise of the English in the *History of Poland* was mere flattery, or *plámás* to use a term more familiar to Irish readers.

Among Irish observers of Poland in the early modern period, Connor was exceptional for the level of contact he had with his subject and the scope of his reflections on it. Despite the impetus that he provided, Irish commentators made only fleeting references to Poland in the next six decades. Irish readers typically encountered just a handful of themes connected with Poland in books published in Ireland. John III Sobieski's struggles against the Turks, Roman Catholic martyrs and converts to heresy, and the peculiar political system of the *Rzeczpospolita* did turn up.³⁶ The latter was the subject of an entire pamphlet by one of the most popular and prolific writers of the day, Daniel Defoe. Written in the form of a poem, *The Dyet of Poland* appeared first in 1705, possibly

³³ Dalitz and Stone, "Doctor Bernard Connor," p. 26.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

³⁵ Hayley, *A Sermon Preached*, pp. 32–33.

³⁶ On martyrs, see Butler, *The lives of the fathers*. On Sobieski, see Karl Ludwig, Freiherr von Pollnitz, *The memoirs of Charles-Lewis*.

in Dublin as well as London, although the author playfully claimed Gdańsk as the place of publication.³⁷ Readers of Connor's *History of Poland* would not be surprised by the image of Poland it contained. The author condemned the Polish nobility for ruining, by their own vanity, greed, and internal feuding, a country that had many natural advantages. Yet as the preface made clear, Poland was intended as a metaphor for England. The Dublin edition even included a key that revealed the true English identities of the Polish names and places mentioned.³⁸ Unlike Connor, however, Defoe used his account of Poland to demonstrate the vices, not the virtues, of England and targeted English policy in Ireland specifically. By reading King William for Sobieski and Ireland for Moldavia, Irish readers could find sympathy for their experience of dispossession, most recently through William's gift of confiscated Irish estates to his supporters and the fraudulent land speculation that followed.³⁹

The success of *The Dyet of Poland* relied on its readers' acceptance of Poland as a symbol of disarray and corruption, rather than specific parallels between Moldavia and Ireland or, for that matter, between Poland and England. Richard Butterwick has demonstrated that the English, influenced by both Connor and Defoe, associated early eighteenth-century Poland with "religious fanaticism, social oppression, and political anarchy."⁴⁰ Apart from religious fanaticism, these traits had limited relevance to developments in Ireland. The Irish Catholic community could certainly make a claim for systematic social oppression on the basis of the Penal Laws. While laws on religious practice were not strictly enforced, those on land ownership were. But although few owned title to their land, the condition of the Irish peasantry did not amount to slavery. Far from anarchy, political life was remarkably stable and organized up to the 1798 rising. Only Irish Protestants were admitted to parliament, and undertakers, local agents of the Lord Lieutenant, managed their votes carefully.⁴¹

³⁷ Defoe, *The Dyet of Poland*. The other two versions on Eighteenth-Century Collections Online were published in London in the same year. Defoe's most recent biographer mentions only editions published in London, Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, p. 148.

³⁸ Defoe, *The Dyet of Poland*, pp. i and 30.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 4–5.

⁴⁰ Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, p. 33.

⁴¹ For a general survey of Ireland in the eighteenth century see Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation*.

That is not to say that all were satisfied with the status quo. Even within the Irish Protestant community, which supported the union with Britain, a discourse critical of the imbalance of the relationship emerged, within which Poland could occasionally be used to advantage. While the English government looked upon Ireland as a subordinate kingdom with an inferior parliament, Irish Protestants believed that its parliament was the equal of Westminster. A particular point of contention was Poynings' Law of 1494, which required that the Privy Council in England approve the bills passed by the Irish Parliament. Among the various strategies employed by Irish Protestants to press their right to determine affairs within Ireland was the defense of Gothic constitutions. These constitutions provided strong protection for the freedoms of the ruled against encroachments by the ruler, principally through the mechanism of elective monarchy, or failing that, a strong parliament. Allegedly introduced by the Franks into Gaul and then extended to much of Europe in the Middle Ages, Gothic constitutions had since declined in the face of mounting royal power.⁴² Poland's continued adherence to elective monarchy, however, proved the staying power of the Gothic model. For Irish Protestants hostile to interference from London, the Polish example helped to justify, albeit indirectly, the defense of their own form of Gothicism, which relied on the Irish Parliament to limit royal power.

Writing in the same year as Connor, William Molyneux concluded his enormously influential pamphlet, *The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England*, with a plea for the preservation of Gothic constitutions in Poland, Ireland, and Britain: "Our King's Dominions are the only Supporters of this noble Gothick Constitution, save only what little remains may be found thereof in Poland. We should not therefore make so light of that sort of Legislature, and as it were Abolish it in One Kingdom of the Three, wherein it appears, but rather Cherish and Encourage it wherever we meet it."⁴³ While more positive than Connor who complained that Poles "run mad after liberty," Molyneux was grudging in his respect for Poland's political system, depicting it as a crude shadow of the old Gothic model.⁴⁴ He made no attempt to describe how government in Poland actually functioned. Indeed this was

⁴² McBride, "Robert Molesworth," pp. 102–103.

⁴³ Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's*, p. 174. My thanks to Michael Brown for alerting me to the reference.

⁴⁴ Connor, *History of Poland*, II, p. 193.

the only reference to Poland in a pamphlet of over 100 pages, which emphasized Ireland's tradition of self-government under the English crown. Molyneux probably borrowed the argument from his friend, another Irishman, Robert Molesworth, who was the chief proponent of Gothicism in the early eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Their historical justification of Gothicism was not unique to Irish political thinkers, however. As an argument against royal power, Gothicism also had many adherents in England, such as Algernon Sidney.⁴⁶

While Molyneux and Molesworth overlooked Poland's reputation for religious intolerance in their efforts to defend Ireland's traditional legislative principles, other Irish Protestants, concerned to ensure the exclusion of Catholics from participation in government, used it to great effect. These interpreted attacks on the Protestant minority in Poland as evidence of a European-wide campaign by Catholics to murder Protestants. The fact that the laws of the land upheld Anglican privileges, even to the point of obliging Catholics to pay tithes to the established church, did nothing to subdue Irish Protestants' feelings of affinity with the disadvantaged minority of Polish Protestants. Writing in 1714, Sir Richard Steele, a Dublin-born journalist, for instance, cited the Poles' execution of a Protestant convert to Roman Catholicism as an example of Catholic cruelty.⁴⁷ As in England, the executions of Protestants at Toruń with the acquiescence of the Polish government in 1724 provided more spectacular evidence. A preacher in Enniskillen, in Ulster, cited these among a list of instances of Catholic persecution of Protestants.⁴⁸ Another work printed in Dublin, written by Thomas Wight, drew a parallel between Toruń and the massacre of Protestants by Catholics in Ireland in the 1641 rebellion.⁴⁹ English works reprinted in Dublin echoed the standard Irish Protestant view, including the parallel with 1641.⁵⁰

Poland was invoked in this discourse only to illustrate a general trend, however. Irish Catholics had traditionally sought military aid from

⁴⁵ Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, p. 43.

⁴⁶ The roots of Gothicism could be traced back to an earlier text, which Molesworth himself translated, Hotman, *Franco-Gallia*.

⁴⁷ Steele, *The Englishman*, p. 110.

⁴⁸ Draycott, *The sin and folly of rebellion*, p. 21.

⁴⁹ Wight, *A history of the rise and progress*, p. 19. Estimates of the casualties varied greatly between the two communities.

⁵⁰ Owen, *An alarm to Protestant princes*, pp. 4–7, 22. See also *A faithful and exact narrative*. See also Beata Cieszyńska's paper above.

France and Spain rather than Poland, and Irish Protestants did not suspect the existence of a Polish-Irish conspiracy to overthrow English, Protestant rule. Even the marriage of the Stuart Pretender, James III, to Clementina Sobieski in 1719 and the birth of their son, Charles Edward, the following year, did not provoke claims of a common cause between Irish and Polish Catholics. Although fervent supporters of the Stuart cause, Irish Catholics themselves read little into the marriage alliance.⁵¹ Indeed Gaelic poetry, which served as the main vehicle for Irish Jacobite sentiment, included only a handful of references to Poland. In 1734 the poet, Aodh Bui Mac Cruitín condemned Russia and Austria for their attempt to overturn the election of Stanislaus Leszczyński, the father-in-law and favored candidate of Louis XV. Mac Cruitín's support for the Polish monarch, however, depended entirely on the complex system of tactical alliances that he hoped would oust the English from Ireland. Writing in Paris for the small Gaelic-speaking exile community in the Irish College, Mac Cruitín considered Leszczyński's fate from the perspective of an Irish Catholic who wished the restoration of a Scottish dynasty, which sought assistance from the French monarchy, which in turn hoped to gain influence through the choice of a Polish king.⁵²

The election of Stanislaus Poniatowski in 1764 as successor to the Saxon king, Augustus III, who had replaced Leszczyński, proved far more interesting to the Irish. The efforts of Stanislaus Augustus, as he called himself, to reform the Polish constitution, the reactions of the nobles and the great continental powers to his innovations, the constitution of 1791, and Kościuszko's rebellion all made Poland an exciting subject for Irish readers. In this sense, the Irish followed the same trajectory as their English neighbours. As Butterwick has shown, only from the 1760s did the English become informed about events in Poland.⁵³ The channels seem to have been literary rather than personal, although it is likely that Irish and Poles continued to mix, especially as exiles in

⁵¹ In the seminal book on Gaelic poetry of this period, Breandán Ó Buachalla mentions the marriage between James and Clementina, whom he erroneously describes as a daughter of King John Sobieski, but does not mention any literary celebration of the marriage, Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, pp. 320, 328.

⁵² Morley, *An Crann Os Coill*, p. 112. The poem in question begins "*Do chonnarc aréir ré ghlan san aird aniar*," and can be found in the Royal Irish Academy, Ms. 23 M 51, 39. Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill and Aindrias Mac Craith expressed support for Poland in the War of the Austrian Succession, when it fought against Britain, Ó Ciadhra, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause*, pp. 277–79.

⁵³ Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, p. 29.

France and in the American conflict, where Irishmen participated on both sides.⁵⁴ Like western Europeans generally, the Irish were ignorant of Slavic languages and read about Poland in English or French.⁵⁵ Irish readers continued to have access to older works, such as Connor's *History of Poland*, and those of the philosophes, but they now also had much new material.⁵⁶ As well as Rousseau's *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (1771), Irish readers had access to travel accounts by British authors, such as Joseph Marshall, John Williams, and William Coxe, published from 1772 to 1785.⁵⁷ Irish newspapers and periodicals took a lively interest in political and military events on the Continent and, at the times of the partitions, included regular reports on Poland. Not surprisingly, some of this material derived from English sources. For example, the *Dublin Magazine* reproduced an extract from John Campbell's *Present State of Europe* in 1764.

From the 1760s on, Irish commentary was not just more detailed and sustained, it was also more positive. As in England, in Ireland Stanislaus Augustus was depicted as a kind of romantic hero.⁵⁸ As well as his good looks and cultural accomplishments, the *Belfast Newsletter* praised him for his staunch defense of the rights of mankind and great responsibility to his subjects.⁵⁹ Charles O'Connor, a Catholic scholar who campaigned for legal equality for his co-religionists, was deeply critical of the Confederation of Bar in 1768 for challenging the new monarch's reforms. O'Connor's goal was universal religious toleration, for Protestants in Poland and Catholics in Ireland alike. Aghast at developments in Poland, he advocated Russian intervention to "force

⁵⁴ On recruitment of Irish into the British army to serve in America, Morley, *Irish Opinion*, pp. 137–44.

⁵⁵ Wolff, *Inventing Europe*, p. 106. This might be one reason why there are no Polish-language manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland.

⁵⁶ Connor's work was for sale in 1766, *A catalogue of the libraries of John Fergus*. Montesquieu, *The spirit of laws*, I, pp. 18, 118, 184 and II, pp. 16, 75. For Voltaire's discussion of Poland, see Voltaire, *An essay on the age of Lewis XIV* and Voltaire, *The History of Charles XII*.

⁵⁷ Marshall, *Travels through Holland*. There is some doubt as to whether Marshall had actually visited Poland, see Wolff, *Inventing Europe*, p. 81. Certainly his comparison of the slavery endured by Polish serfs with that of African slaves in the West Indies is reminiscent of Connor's "our Negroes in the West Indies." Williams, *The Rise, Progress and Present State*, II, book v on Poland. Coxe, *Travels into Poland*.

⁵⁸ As, for example, in *The batchelor*, I, p. 224.

⁵⁹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 30 April, 1773. See also *Hibernian Magazine*, April, 1795, 251: "His aspect is majestic; his eye piercing; and his spirit bravery in the extreme, tempered with the greatest discretion."

the chiefs of a great nation to do what they should do of themselves, to grant universal toleration to all religionists who can approve themselves good subjects to the civil constitution."⁶⁰ There was no suggestion, however, that he supported foreign intervention in Ireland to secure rights for Catholics. O'Connor was no Jacobite. He justified his demand for Catholic rights on the grounds that Ireland's Catholic subjects were as loyal to Britain as its Protestants.

Given the widespread sympathy for Stanislaus Augustus, reaction to the partitions was overwhelmingly critical in Ireland, as in England. The leading Irish political figure of the day, Edmund Burke, condemned the first partition in 1772 as a dangerous precedent for international affairs.⁶¹ As in England, Irish newspapers were especially critical of Frederick of Prussia's part in the partition and concerned about the impact on British trade with Gdańsk, but showed less interest in the lively debates about possible British intervention on behalf of the Poles raging in English newspapers.⁶² The constitution of 3 May, 1791, however, pushed events in Poland to the forefront of political discussions in Ireland, as all over Europe. In drawing up the new constitution, the Polish government sent a signal that Poland was determined to address the failings that might have contributed to the first partition and that it was embarking on a political course that brought it closer to the British constitutional model. The introduction of popular sovereignty, the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, and the guarantee of religious tolerance helped to make Poland acceptable to outsiders. Irish newspapers and periodicals provided extensive commentary on the constitution and two even printed the constitution in its entirety.⁶³ Burke personally congratulated Stanislaus Augustus and his public championing of the constitution helped to overturn the widespread negative view of Poland's government.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ From Charles O'Connor to Dr. John Curry, 28 June, 1768, in Catherine and Robert Ward, *The Letters of Charles O'Connor*, I, letter 176.

⁶¹ Horn, *British Opinion*, p. 13. Horn accepts the claim by W. N. Massey that Burke was the author of the contribution on Poland to the *Annual Register* for 1772. *Ibidem*, p. 35.

⁶² See the reports of the *Belfast Newsletter* and *Freeman's Journal* for 1772 and 1773. For the discussions in the *London Chronicle* and the *Public Advertiser*, see Horn, *British Opinion*, pp. 47–59.

⁶³ These were *Northern Star*, 30 Dec., 1793 to 2 Jan., 1794 and *Hibernian Magazine*, March 1794.

⁶⁴ Horn, *British Opinion*, p. 79.

The loudest applause for the Poles in Ireland came not, however, from conservatives, but radical republicans. For these, based primarily in the highly industrialized and literate northern town of Belfast and in the capital, Dublin, the new Poland, intent on reform, but threatened by neighbours, fit easily into the panoply of causes they supported. Poland's supporters came together at a meeting in Belfast to commemorate the first anniversary of the constitution. Their toasts on the occasion constituted a roll-call of radical causes: the revolution in Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, the French Revolution, Tom Paine, George Washington, the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Whig leader Charles Edward Fox, and Magna Carta, among others.⁶⁵ The same linking of themes was evident in the Belfast Bastille Day celebration of 1792. The grand procession featured the Polish flag as one of five free nations—the others were Ireland, America, France and Great Britain.⁶⁶

The constitution's clauses on religion particularly impressed the organizers, members of the United Irishmen. Wolfe Tone had founded the association in 1791 with the purpose of uniting Irishmen of all faiths—Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Dissenter—to promote greater independence from Britain. Its organ, the *Northern Star*, stressed that, while the Polish constitution established the Roman Catholic religion, it granted free toleration to other faiths and did away with the Roman Catholic monopoly on public office. For an organization with a strong presence of Presbyterians, who like Roman Catholics, suffered disabilities in Hanoverian Britain, it was an important point.⁶⁷ The United Irishmen's commitment to religious toleration also helped them to overcome the anti-Catholic prejudices that contributed to negative views of Poland in England. In this sense, they anticipated the growing popularity of Poland that developed in the less confessionally tense period of the early nineteenth century.⁶⁸

Tone himself drew on recent events in Poland in his best-selling pamphlet, *An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* (1791), which demanded the repeal of anti-Catholic legislation. While some of his fellow Protestants had claimed that lack of education rendered Irish

⁶⁵ *Northern Star* 2–5 May, 1792, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Described in McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism*, p. 354 and Elliott, *Wolfe Tone*, p. 177.

⁶⁷ *Northern Star*, 25–28 Jan., 1792, p. 8. See also Nassau, *The cause of the Roman Catholics*.

⁶⁸ Horn, *British Opinion*, pp. 84–85.

Catholics unfit for political rights, Tone pointed to the example of Poland and France. These countries had coped well with liberty, he argued, although it had come too quickly to allow the people to prepare for the change. The Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland had at least witnessed liberty at first-hand, as practiced by their Protestant compatriots.⁶⁹ Tone also invoked the Polish case to rebut claims that Roman Catholics could only support Roman Catholic governments. Tone argued that the examples of America, France, and Poland showed that religion did not compromise the participation of Roman Catholics. However, while he noted the cooperation of Roman Catholics and Protestants in assemblies in America and France, he failed to explain how Poland fit in.⁷⁰ Presumably, he believed the constitution had made Poland a kind of supra-confessional state to which Roman Catholics were happy to subscribe.

With Russia's invasion of Poland and the prospect of partition in 1792, it became clear that the Polish experiment was doomed. At this moment, at least for radical republicans, Poland changed from a potential model for Ireland's future to a metaphor for its tragic past. A meeting of the United Irishmen applied the image of the suffering Poles to Irish Catholics, who were still subject to the Penal Laws: "While we reflect with regret, on the success of despotism in Poland, and execrate with horror its attempts in France, we cannot be insensible to its presumption and audacity in our native land, and the injustice and cruelty which it proposes to perpetuate."⁷¹ Their campaign against anti-Catholic legislation had some success. In 1793 the Irish Parliament passed a relief bill that gave Catholics all political rights but the right to sit in parliament.

The same year, however, saw the outbreak of war between Britain and France and the suppression of organizations with revolutionary sympathies, including the United Irishmen. If many Irish radicals continued to support France, the war rendered Poland a safer political cause to espouse in public. With the French revolutionaries engaged in the Terror, the morality of Poland's cause shone more brightly. Poland's supporters in Ireland fumed about the actions of the partitioning powers and celebrated Polish resistance. The *Northern Star* made a hero of

⁶⁹ Tone, *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

⁷¹ Declaration of Belfast Second Society of United Irishmen, in *Belfast Politics*, p. 80.

Count Lagorsky, who committed suicide in despair over the collapse of Poland. It described him as a benevolent master to his peasants, whose heart was broken by partition and the loss of his estates.⁷² The Poles' reputation for liberty, which had long been deemed excessive, became their saving grace. As one poet wrote: "Yet triumphant her King and her People shall rise/In spite of proud Russia's *insatiate*, old Dame; In spite of her Ally's perfidious disguise/Of each impious attempt to quench Freedom's bright flame."⁷³ Kościuszko's rebellion and his emancipation of the serfs in 1794 appeared to confirm the Poles' commitment to freedom and presage their victory. The co-operation of Poles of all religious backgrounds in the rebellion impressed the journalists of the *Northern Star*, in particular.⁷⁴ It noted approvingly that the Protestants of Kraków had provided bells for the war effort.⁷⁵ Observing the general sympathy for the Poles, Irish radicals took the opportunity to attack the English government over its passivity in the face of partition. The *Northern Star* complained that the British would sooner fight for the right to fish otter in Nootka Sound in Canada than come to the aid of the Poles.⁷⁶ This Whig view had its critics, however. Edmund Burke rejected the charge of misplaced priorities, seeing calls for intervention as a ruse by Fox to push Britain into an alliance with revolutionary France.⁷⁷

The defeat of Kościuszko and the third partition of 1795 reinforced the image of suffering Poland. The defeat of the United Irishmen's rising in 1798 made this image all the more meaningful. As Tone suggested, Poland's failure provided the precondition for its appeal. If the image of suffering Poland had applied only to Irish Catholics in 1792, by 1798 it applied to all Irish who were dissatisfied with the relationship with Britain. The 1793 Relief Act and the British response to the rebellion of 1798 meant that the opposition in Ireland was no longer so focused on confessional issues. Perhaps with Tone's speech echoing in their ears, Protestant opponents of the English government's decision

⁷² *Northern Star*, 17–21 July, 1793, p. 67.

⁷³ Dromore, "An Effusion, By a Friend of Freedom, for the People of Poland," *ibidem*, 21–27 July, 1792.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 7–11 Aug., 1794, p. 272.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 2–7 July, 1794, p. 262.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 15–18 Aug., 1792, p. 66.

⁷⁷ Edmund Burke, *Observations on the Conduct of the Minority or letter to Duke of Portland* (1793), in Burke, *The Writings and Speeches*, I, pp. 421–22.

to dissolve the Irish Parliament in the Act of Union of 1800 construed it as a punishment akin to the partition of Poland.⁷⁸

The Poland that the Irish imagined on the eve of the nineteenth century was thus very different from that described by Connor and Molyneux a century before. No longer was Poland a metaphor for intolerance, anarchy, and crudity, with little application to the Irish situation. It was now a uniquely inspiring symbol for successive generations of Irish nationalists. In having attempted to purge itself of social inequality, Poland testified to its moral virtue. In insisting on the right to direct its own affairs, it asserted its independence. In resisting foreign oppression, it exhibited courage. All these qualities were essential for Irish nationalists in their continued struggle against Britain. If the Enlightenment's redefinition of Poland from a place to a state of mind helped sustain Polish nationalists in a century without a state, the same image gave strength to Irish nationalists by showing them that they were not alone.⁷⁹ While it remains for historians to assess the accuracy of the parallel between Ireland and Poland, for contemporaries the comparison was certainly comforting.

⁷⁸ Molyneux, *A reply to the memoir*, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Wolff makes this point about Rousseau, Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp. 241–42.

THE PICTURE OF ENGLAND AND ENGLISHMEN IN POLISH MEMOIRS DURING THE REIGN OF STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS (1764–1795)

Dariusz Rolnik

England of the second half of the eighteenth century was hardly known in Poland. The English style was on a moderate scale followed by small élites, mainly those interested in systems of government. The king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus can, though not quite undoubtedly, be counted among them.¹ As for economic and social matters things looked similar although here the scope of interests was broader and ranged from English carriages through innovations in agriculture and gardening up to granting rights to common people. Nevertheless, here also the influence on the nobility in the Republic was rather limited. In that respect knowledge was most frequently drawn from the contemporary press or foreign publications.²

Memoirs referring to the times of King Stanislaus Augustus include almost 380 works that fall into three groups. The first comprises memoirs finished before the year 1795. The second is memoirs written by those who survived the fall of Poland and accounted for it. Last but not least, there are works whose authors, born after the year 1780, drew the information about the period from their parents' or grandparents' stories. They also perceived England through the lens of other, more recent historical events. The division, though informal, illustrates the changes in Poles' interest in various questions, including the ones connected with England and Englishmen. A selection was made from among the memoirs, maintaining proportions so that the sample was representative of each group. Only the most suggestive and complete ones were chosen. To elaborate the entire body of material and generate statistics, though productive, remains a task for the future.

¹ See Butterwick, *Stanisław August a kultura angielska*, pp. 235–54.

² See Chomicki, "Rola propagandowa obrazu Anglii," pp. 39–54; Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, p. 121.

Unlike with epistolary sources, the material analyzed makes it possible to some extent to show a more stable and “stereotyped” picture of the “distant oversea land,” one probably more firmly fixed in the imagination of the Polish citizens of the second half of eighteenth century. The picture was certainly influenced by both the journalistic debate on reform in the Republic and by current events discussed in political and private correspondence. After all, as opposed to other sources, memoir accounts offer a view of events from a distance much like diaries which, written day by day, acquire a distance through their writers’ reluctance to publish them immediately. Besides, diarists usually undertake to redraft their works after years. Materials of this kind are also referred to in this study. Researchers have given much more attention to the actual influence of English patterns on various spheres of life in Poland³ so historical works on the questions of stereotyped perception of England and Englishmen in the eighteenth century are relatively few and are principally based on other sources or make use of the memoirs of the second half and the turn of eighteenth century.⁴ The present study serves to supplement this area of research.

Little was written in Polish memoirs about England and Englishmen because, in fact, little was known about them or at least the knowledge was not so common as was that, say, about France. A good example may be drawn from Stanislaus Augustus’ diary of his journey to Pińsk in 1784. It is all the more significant as the diary was written for propaganda purposes. As already mentioned, the king was to some extent fascinated by England and actually tried to promote the adoption of English patterns in various fields. Being entertained by Mateusz Butrymowicz, a man shown in a very good light, the king noticed that one of his sons was named Ryszard. Surprised, the king asked his host how it had come that he had given his son an English name. Butrymowicz answered thoughtlessly, “I took it from a calendar.”⁵ The anecdote shows that in the provinces knowledge about England was slight yet gradually reaching even the most distant corners of the Republic and was adopted quite openly. With the passing of time inter-

³ See for example Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, “Publicystyka polska lat 1772–1792”; Lorentz, “Stosunki artystyczne polsko-angielskie”; Rostworowski, “Republikanizm polski, i anglosaski.” For more extensive bibliography see Butterwick, *Stanisław August a kultura angielska*, pp. 347–73.

⁴ See for example Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów*, pp. 102–104; Niewiara, *Wymyślenia o narodach*, pp. 55–61.

⁵ Stanisław August, “Dziennik bytności Najjaśniejszego Króla,” p. 264.

est in England grew and manifested itself in the increasing number of references in the memoirs of the people living after the fall of Poland in 1795. Attention was focused on several basic aspects of English society and politics, from various points of view, depending on historical changes in Poland. The nineteenth century memoirist Michał Budzyński noticed the tendency, though he personally did not share the interest. He could not understand why in the Fifth Class in schools the history of England was taught. "I do not know why the English nation was granted priority among other modern nations, and no one spoke about France and about the Russian language and history there was no mention."⁶ Fortunately, it did not surprise other memoirists.

It was the English system of government that was the primary topic. In fact practically all memoirists who gave their attention to the country touched on the English constitution. All accounts were positive. Only the Venetian form of government gained as much praise as the English one. What was mostly commended was the institution of the English Parliament. Not only was it viewed as a positive limitation of the king's authority but also as confining the power of the nobility. In 1772 Ludwik Gutakowski went to England especially "to see the re-assumption of the Parliament." The experience fully convinced him of the merits of the English governmental system. Fully accepting the way the English Parliament functioned he wrote, "Briskly but carefully they arrange, each has only once to speak. [...] They speak daringly and bluntly against the Court [...] though the King conferring all the offices may take them back whenever he chooses." Gutakowski also appreciated the principle of the king's veto in the constitution. He also seemed to like the fact that foreigners were not allowed to enter Parliament when the king took part in the debate. This built up the prestige of the whole institution and also that of the king. Gutakowski was proud of being able to watch an important sitting of the House of Commons where "...the consent had to be unanimous and the subject matter was weighty..."⁷

The problems of restricting the king's authority and at the same time putting an end to the nobility's lawlessness were interconnected, particularly in the times of the Great *Sejm* (1788–1792). The diary

⁶ Budzyński, *Wspomnienia mojego życia*, p. 7. See also the signs of the spreading fashion for England, Błędowska, *Pamiętka przeszłości*, p. 133.

⁷ Gutakowski, "Z dzienniczka Ludwika Szymona Gutakowskiego," pp. 588–89.

of the delegates from Kamień Podolski mentions a Calvinist deputy, Grabowski, who spoke to the Polish people. Dwelling at length upon granting rights to the royal towns in Poland, Grabowski recalled the recent revolution in France and clearly suggested the possibility of such an outburst of discontent in Poland. Then he adduced the English example, where "...the English king deprived the nobility of some liberties but they joined the townsfolk and wholly regained their rights."⁸ The comparison of the old English democracy with the new French one, introduced by revolution, is also visible in Michał Czacki's memoirs. He proclaimed himself decidedly in favour of the English model. It was far from his wish to imitate the Frenchmen and putting words in his friend's mouth he stated, "The French influence is not necessarily good, the English patterns are better."⁹ Another argument which led M. Czacki to declare himself in favour of the English system was his belief that the English nation "...all through its social development distinguished itself by the love for national liberties..."¹⁰

In Polish noble circles at the time of the Great *Sejm* positive thinking about English achievements in the constitutional sphere manifested itself by social gatherings in the fashion of English parties. Many were organized in Warsaw and called, after the French mode, "*assemblée*." The best of them were given by the *Sejm* Speakers' Kazimierz Nestor Sapieha and Stanislaus Małachowski.¹¹ From Czacki's memoirs it appears that the whole of Warsaw entertained themselves in the English mode, or at least they thought they did. The parties of that type took place at among others the houses of the wife of a Lithuanian *Sejm* Speaker, Barbara Sanguszkowa née Dunin, a *hetman's* wife, Aleksandra Ogińska née Czartoryska, and a castellan's wife, Marianna Lanckorońska née Świdzińska.¹² Also an English dance called the "*anglez*" was in fashion.¹³

After the fall of the Republic the nobility remained convinced that the English system of government deserved imitation.¹⁴ However, lacking their own state, Polish citizens did not reflect more profoundly on

⁸ Korzon, "Delegacya m. Kamieńca Podolskiego," p. 22.

⁹ Czacki, *Wspomnienie z roku 1788 po 1792*, p. 102.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 111.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 112. See Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, pp. 44–45; Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, pp. 122–24.

¹³ Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, p. 50.

¹⁴ Koźmian *Pamiętniki*, III, p. 72.

this problem. They envied the English for their success in maintaining the continuity of rule, which, among other things, made it possible for them to develop such a good political system.¹⁵ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz struck a melancholic note. Describing England in his memoirs he stated that it is good to be an island. All the relics of the past, the monuments, would "...have long ago been already mangled to pieces, if England were situated just like us among rapacious and incursive nations."¹⁶

The Polish memoirists were also well-disposed towards English society. Above all attention was paid to the English love of freedom which lay the groundwork for the much praised government structure in England. It was noticed that freedom and liberties in England were limited by the political culture propagated there. Wirydianna Fiszerowa wrote that, "...in London [...] the people speak aloud what they think—frankly but without churlish invectives."¹⁷ Thinking about the phenomenon of the broadly comprehended grandeur of England, Stanislaus Poniatowski, the son-in-law of Stanislaus Augustus, who studied in Cambridge in 1771, started to understand, "...that I will only be what I can make of myself."¹⁸ It was in England that true equality was observed. With surprise J. U. Niemcewicz wrote that he happened "...to eat a roast goose with craftsmen and the same day in the evening he did it with the Royal Prince, the heir to the English throne." In England he saw equality of all the people before the law, equality in exercising liberties, and "...for the lowest the road to the highest dignities..." was open.¹⁹ In England work was valued and highly-prized.²⁰ Moreover, the English nation was "...strangely kindhearted and simple..." and the police were not necessary to preserve law and order. In the theatre: "The audience enjoys the same freedom as anywhere else... Many a time an unacceptable performer has oranges thrown at him and in the case of quarrels there is no need to call for soldiers. A constable with a white stick detains the offender in the name of law... At gatherings or public entertainments no one sees a bayonet."²¹ To this collective

¹⁵ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 258.

¹⁶ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 227.

¹⁷ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 259.

¹⁸ Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 49. See Popiel, *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, p. 43.

¹⁹ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, pp. 229–33. See Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, pp. 257–58; Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, III, p. 9.

²⁰ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 259.

²¹ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 233; Popiel *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, p. 45.

portrait of English virtues it is necessary to add the forbearance in “not scolding” those who murdered the English language²² and honesty²³ which happened to be unfairly presumed to prevail among Poles in their own country.²⁴ W. Fiszerowa wrote also that it was a dishonour for English tradesmen to accept help. They were “joyfully proud” when they were able to requite assistance and “...spent their harvest unstintingly to support the poor.”²⁵ A good example here, quoted by the Polish memoirists, was an imposing hospital, where 2,000 sailors were maintained “...in token of the lavish gratitude with which the government requites their hardships and their wounds...”. This way they are thanked for bringing glory to Great Britain. The same spirit inspired the foundation of the school on the hospital grounds, meant for “...the sons of the sailors killed in battles.”²⁶ In that context the inclination to eccentricities “...to which those oversea men yield...,” mentioned by Seweryn Bukar seems trivial. His example was Englishmen’s fascination with green.²⁷ J. U. Niemcewicz claimed that Englishmen were very rich. “What a lot of tradesmen in London enjoy wealth greater than all Polish riches.” Yet, he added, “...you will not find there the luxuries and pompous refinement you find here. Comfort and convenience are the Englishman’s first aim, to live clean, to wear fine clothes, have a good bed, healthy and nourishing food, but above all freedom and personal safety. That’s what happiness means for them.” The memoirist saw extravagances, if any, in the beautiful country-properties.²⁸ However, in general Englishmen were to him sober-minded people. “...it seems there is no difference in age nor sex. Old people and youth, women and even children, all are serious, thoughtful and dignified...” What is more, “...you can find that spirit of moderation and nobleness in

²² Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 259; Bagiński, *Wspomnienia starego Wobyniaka*, pp. 247–48.

²³ See Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, pp. 257–58; Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 229; Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, III, p. 9.

²⁴ See the example of cheating an English tradesman. Gajewski, *Pamiętniki Franciszka z Błociszewa*, I, p. 30.

²⁵ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, pp. 257–58. See Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 228.

²⁶ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 230. Politically authors of memoirs typically did not distinguish between England and Britain. For them it was one organism. The English ruled it and Great Britain always appears in that sense. Britain was the country of Englishmen.

²⁷ Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, pp. 121–22.

²⁸ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 228.

each social class." Niemcewicz somewhat ironically, though without spite concluded, "This thoughtful nation, attached to order, has its rights and rules even in entertainment and obeys them strictly."²⁹

According to the Polish memoirists, another important element which united English society was the pro-state way of thinking. English people identified themselves willingly with the state and the crown. In England, when the Court proclaimed mourning for some German princeling's death, the whole society followed without any special orders, anyway at least those "who wanted to be fashionable."³⁰ W. Fiszerowa described English society in a similar way. Yet, she added, though she was happy to have seen England not for a moment did she think of living there. Parisian society suited her more. According to her the French are "an improved society while the Englishmen are children in a raw state."³¹ Among Poles that way of thinking prevailed in spite of the fact that they met with a kindly reception in England, particularly after the fall of Poland in 1795.³² The state itself appeared superb and great to them.

"In England everything is big, well-maintained, different from what is expected before visiting that country," wrote W. Fiszerowa, even though, as she stated, London was not as expensive as was commonly said.³³ In England she saw magnificent public buildings and wonderful breweries and admired them.³⁴ J. U. Niemcewicz chimed in with admiration stating that England was "... a beautiful country, so fertile, so well-cultivated, so freshly green..."³⁵ She implied that the whole of England was filled with "English" gardens of astounding freshness. Compared with those Polish or German gardens looked poor and were mere imitations of English ones.³⁶ All was for her accompanied by "tidiness and soundness," unlike on the Continent.³⁷ Ignacy Lubowiecki

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 227–28, 232.

³⁰ Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 51.

³¹ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 260.

³² See Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, II, pp. 209–210; Bagiński, *Wspomnienia starego Wołyniaka*, p. 268.

³³ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, pp. 259, 257. Reporting the costs of living was essential for a Polish citizen. Information about fares, the cost of food or inns is noted down in practically all the journey diaries of the second half of the eighteenth century.

³⁴ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 260.

³⁵ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 227; Popiel, *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, pp. 44–45.

³⁶ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 259.

³⁷ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 227.

extolled the example of English educational institutions, as he did those in France and Germany, only to regret that there were no such institutions in Poland.³⁸ Unadulterated praise for English universities can be found in the memoirs of S. Poniatowski and Paweł Popiel. Universities are where the latter saw the source of England's power.³⁹ The development of science resulted from Englishmen's pragmatism. They disdain crystals and trinkets but they did not skimp "...for the common good and public use."⁴⁰

Polish memoirists perceived England as an economic power which they saw mainly as a result of trade whose centre was London, the biggest and the wealthiest city, full of banks which enjoyed everyone's confidence.⁴¹ The Englishmen, their capital and state owed their position in the world to the seas over which they reigned.⁴² About the special relationship between the English and the sea J. U. Niemcewicz wrote in a beautiful style stating that other nations are parted by the seas, while in case of the Englishmen "...the seas connect them with all other countries in the world."⁴³ The sea reared them, giving them the gift of courage as a result of which their empire was built.⁴⁴ Yet the memoirists found it difficult to specify the boundaries of the empire. Only rarely and generally did they mention the colonies.⁴⁵ In this context the age-old conflict between England and France came up most frequently.⁴⁶

The Polish memoirists gave quite a lot of attention to French-English enmity. W. Fiszerowa observed that it was not only that the English did not like the French but also, "In some classes they only know that two nations exist—England and France..." and they do not care about any other. Surely, the memoirist was not much surprised by her

³⁸ Lubowiecki, *Pamiętniki*, p. 7.

³⁹ Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 49; Popiel, *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, p. 44.

⁴⁰ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, I, p. 228.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, p. 260.

⁴³ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 228.

⁴⁴ Grabowski, *Podróż do Prus*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Fox, *Dyariusz z Heilsberga*, pp. 13–14; Dzwonkowski, *Pamiętniki czyli Pamiętka po ojcu*, pp. 61, 65, 105; Kosmowski, *Pamiętniki Stanisława Kosmowskiego*, p. 83. Remarks on slavery appear which are susceptible to various interpretations. However among other countries England is mentioned as the one taking unfair advantage of slaves' work. Poland is also included in the group which treats the peasantry in a similar way. See Staszic, *Dziennik podróży Stanisława Staszica*, pp. 100, 237.

⁴⁶ Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki synowca Stanisława Augusta*, p. 51; Dzwonkowski, *Pamiętniki czyli Pamiętka po ojcu*, p. 76.

own finding and wrote, "moving over from France to England is a striking experience... Everything here is different: nature, people, customs."⁴⁷ In that rivalry, which found expression in the American War for Independence, for all the affection for Englishmen and prejudice against some manifestations of "Frenchness" and "the despotic" French government,⁴⁸ the majority of memoirists declared for the Frenchmen who supported the Americans and who "...from time immemorial are tit for tat with the English."⁴⁹ Despite his raptures over England, J. U. Niemcewicz also took the side of the Americans in their conflict with England.⁵⁰ His way of thinking was in all likelihood influenced by his close friendship with Tadeusz Kościuszko, who was, at that time, fighting for the independence of the United States. What is more, in Polish minds the United States started to rival England in the field of a broadly-comprehended freedom. At the end of eighteenth century, Szczesny Potocki considered the United States a sanctuary of freedom. He was one of the greatest Polish magnates and the originator of the Targowica Confederation, formed in 1792, which became for Poles a synonym for treason and the fall of the Republic. The memoirist Antoni Chrzasczewski admitted that it was to the United States that Sz. Potocki, together with his children, wanted to go to find freedom.⁵¹ The War of the American Revolution was a kind of blemish on the image of England. Nonetheless, analyzing English-French relations and the Poles' views about them it is worth noting the comments of Jędrzej Kitowicz. In his memoir on the pages dealing with the years 1782 and 1783 the author remarked on England as a sea power and on the flight together of an Englishman and Françoise Blanchard across the English Channel.⁵² The emphasis on the fact seems clear but since it is the only juxtaposition of thoughts about Englishmen and Frenchmen rivalling each other, it does not permit any further interpretation. Retelling the story, however, does reveal an "internationalist" approach among some Polish memoirists to problems concerning Europe. In fact that approach is also apparent in perceiving the history of the Polish Republic,

⁴⁷ Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne*, pp. 256, 258–59.

⁴⁸ Rolnik, "Obraz cudzoziemców i cudzoziemszczyzny," pp. 320–27.

⁴⁹ Rogowski, "Reszty pamiętników Macieja Rogowskiego," p. 41. On the doubts concerning the authenticity of this record see Cieński, *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie*, p. 202; Konopczyński, "Przegląd źródeł do Konfederacji Barskiej," pp. 543–44.

⁵⁰ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, pp. 226, 229.

⁵¹ Chrzasczewski, *Pamiętniki oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyńna*, pp. 64–65.

⁵² Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, pp. 363–65.

especially with those who wrote their memoirs in the nineteenth century. Many questions are considered by referring both to the old Polish tradition and to nineteenth-century European history.

Despite the inconsistency in the perception of the English love for freedom and the blemish on the portrait of England and its inhabitants, English politicians were highly esteemed, even those who supported the war with the United States. Poles, often directly influenced by them, easily forgot about such facts. L. Gutakowski admired the wisdom and dignity of "lord Mulgrave," Sir John Wilkes, "the sheriff of London, a well-known opponent of the court," and in general all Speakers of Parliament.⁵³ J. U. Niemcewicz spoke highly of Charles Grey, Edmund Burke, Richard Sheridan, but took a particular liking for George Fox and William Pitt. The former impressed the Polish memoirist by his outward appearance. He sometimes played cards all night long, and only then washed and went to Parliament. "...certainly he was not exemplary in his manners yet honest, easy-going, nice and so smart that his friends almost worshiped him." Pitt aroused admiration by his performances in Parliament, that "lover of a toast," "awkward, a savage in the society, was great and astounding in the Parliament." In J. U. Niemcewicz's view only George Gordon was unworthy of praise.⁵⁴ Then, in the nineteenth century P. Popiel rated English politicians highly and it was he who left a stereotyped portrait of an English statesman. He was to be stiff, with sharp features, a bald and high forehead.⁵⁵

The Englishmen who stayed in the lands of the Republic were relatively well thought of, however, the surviving descriptions are more diverse and also the persons described are more "human." The "Polish Englishmen" have faults contrary to their countrymen living in Britain. Their inclination to drinking was often reported. In such accounts a Pole always accompanied an Englishman. In his memoirs Ludwik Łętowski described a very interesting bet. The Voivode of Mazovia and one of the greatest lovers of strong drink in Poland, Antoni Małachowski, took on an Englishman in a contest over how much alcohol each of them could hold. The Polish senator lost because "...he was not used to rum." Małachowski commented upon his own failure saying that, "It is unworthy of a duke's house to allow such disrepute to fall on a

⁵³ Gutakowski, "Z dzienniczka Ludwika Szymona Gutakowskiego," pp. 588–89.

⁵⁴ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 231.

⁵⁵ Popiel, *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, p. 42.

senator, to jeopardize our country's honour and slander the Małachowski family's good name." Małachowski had a grudge against Prince Adam Czartoryski as the latter sent the said Englishman to the voivode and did not forewarn him about his potential rival in the dishonourable competition.⁵⁶ The Englishman himself gained Łętowski's approval: "...he eats and drinks well, quite a decent man."⁵⁷ Also Adam Raczyński spoke favourably about an Englishman who "...drank hundreds of cups of various wines and never got fuddled." The memoirist wrote that all over the world the poor fellow looked for a liquor which could make him drunk.⁵⁸ Remarks about other Englishmen dwelling in Poland were brief and concerned only their occupations and what they did but according to Anna Geryczowa a certain Englishman called O'Connor distinguished himself as he discovered a peat in Poland that was "fit as a fuel."⁵⁹ Englishmen were also appreciated as good riders and those who had acquired mastery in the art of breaking horses.⁶⁰ English friends of Polish citizens as well as English diplomatic agents in Poland were also given their place in memoirs.⁶¹ Englishmen who had moved permanently to Poland and made their homes there also aroused interest. In such a context "an eminent Englishman Windham" is mentioned who stayed at a Polish magnate's court and even married a Polish woman.⁶² It is no wonder since the stereotyped image of English women and their appearance was not a good one. They were said to have big teeth but happened to be liked and gain favours.⁶³ However, that was the only one hint at Englishmen's physical features. Polish memoirists in general did not pay attention to appearances. They did it only describing the Russians with ugly and unnatural features.⁶⁴

Amongst the people engaged in the life of the Polish state and mentioned in memoirs were also the ones whom we suppose to have

⁵⁶ Łętowski, *Wspomnienia pamiętnikarskie*, pp. 77–83.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 80.

⁵⁸ Raczyński, *Ź pamiętników*, p. 543.

⁵⁹ Geryczowa, *Ź pamiętników Anny z Rejtanów Geryczowej*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, p. 31; Gajewski, *Pamiętniki Franciszka z Błociszewa*, p. 28; Raczyński, *Ź pamiętników*, p. 307.

⁶¹ Andrzejowski, *Ramoty starego Detiuka o Wołyniu*, III, pp. 132–33; Bukar, *Pamiętniki z końca XVIII i początków wieku XIX*, p. 48; Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, pp. 122–24.

⁶² Gawroński, *Pamiętnik r. 1830/1831*, p. 281; Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, I, p. 229.

⁶³ Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych*, p. 162; Chrzaszczewski, *Pamiętniki oficjalisty Potockich z Tulczyna*, p. 127.

⁶⁴ For example Potocka-Wąsowiczowa, *Wspomnienia naocznego świadka*, p. 26.

been Englishmen just by the surnames they bore. J. Kitowicz and K. Koźmian among others wrote naturally of them and did not treat them as strangers.⁶⁵ Also bringing over English sheep as well as breeding English stallions and dogs, running “English” inns and using “English” carriages, which only the wealthiest had, were noted in a similarly positive way. There was a kind of standard way of mentioning such things and the sense of good quality of whatever was English. Probably no one in the Republic considered those facts anomalous or odd.⁶⁶

The positive image of the English and their state was not dimmed by religious matters. Poles, though not very prone to accept religions other than Roman Catholicism, did not criticize the Church of England. They noted the liberties of Roman Catholics in England, made observations about Anglican clergymen and were interested in the differences between the two confessions. However, they avoided judgements.⁶⁷ English religiousness was admired. Referring to that J. U. Niemcewicz wrote that when on Sunday he was travelling through the little towns, in the windows he could see only people reading the Bible and drinking tea. He also thought highly of their religion calling it “enlightened.”⁶⁸ The Polish memoirists were categorically biased against “the French novelities.” They particularly condemned those who, fascinated by Voltaire, “did not believe whatsoever.”⁶⁹ According to Poles in religion the French were inferior to the English, the latter being considered more religious. In only one text, in fact of uncertain origin, its presumptive author, Maciej Roguski, severely attacked Anglicans. At the same time he connected the religion with regicide. That memoirist, supposedly conveying the words of Kazimierz Pułaski, noted, “The Englishmen can murder their kings but Polish and Roman Catholic hands have never been so blood-stained and will not ever be.”⁷⁰ Even if this account were true, it must be born in mind that its author was a Bar Confederate, fighting

⁶⁵ For example “Robert Taylor,” Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, p. 311; “Jan Bennet,” Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, II, p. 330.

⁶⁶ Mączyński, *Kościuszkowskie czasy*, p. 436; Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, I, pp. 184, 319, II, p. 287; Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, pp. 122–23; Chrząszczewski, *Pamiętniki oficjalisty Połockich z Tulczyna*, pp. 53–54.

⁶⁷ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 227; Popiel, *Pamiętniki (1807–1892)*, pp. 44–46.

⁶⁸ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, pp. 228, 233.

⁶⁹ Rolnik, “Obraz cudzoziemców i cudzoziemszczyzny,” pp. 320–27.

⁷⁰ Rogowski, “Reszty pamiętników Macieja Rogowskiego,” p. 26.

for Roman Catholicism and intending to fight against England or in defence of the United States.

It is difficult to find in the memoirs any references to Poles banking on English support in political matters. Such statements can be found in correspondence but definitely are less frequent in memoirs. It is no wonder since in the time of the Great *Sejm* much was written about the material goods flowing in through Gdańsk, many of which came from England. One has the impression that more was written about English carriages than about political actions of England in those years.⁷¹ On that point only Franciszek Karpiński seems to have spoken more clearly referring to the First Partition of Poland. He just pointed out that England was against it.⁷² Then J. U. Niemcewicz wrote about the time of the Great *Sejm*, emphasizing England's friendly attitude towards Poland.⁷³ He also recalled the year 1793 and the meeting with the "Royal Prince" August de Sussex in Rome. After a few toasts proposed together, the Poles who were present there, and it appears from the text that the author was among them, wanted to make August de Sussex the king of Poland. The Poles even swore loyalty to him.⁷⁴ The same source dealing with a later period contains views on the position of England during the Congress of Vienna and it was not that the English were an object of criticism but rather of sympathy.⁷⁵

In the picture of England and Englishmen created by the Polish memoirists the views expressing enthusiasm over the supremacy of the British Empire and superlatives about the national character of the English prevail. J. U. Niemcewicz wondered "...who would not admit that it [Britain] is the first nation in the world."⁷⁶ Despite the stereotyped image of the insular nation, the best among the European nations, the Poles of the second half of eighteenth century seldom chose England as a place of permanent emigration. Poles settled preferably in the Italian states or France, whose faults they knew well enough and often described. It seems that "the English cold-hearted solidity"⁷⁷ was the trait of the islanders that generally did not go with the character

⁷¹ For example Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy*, pp. 122–24.

⁷² Karpiński, *Historia mego wieku*, p. 83.

⁷³ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 316. Niemcewicz concedes that Poles did not believe it. *Ibidem*, p. 239.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, II, p. 67.

⁷⁵ Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, III, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, I, p. 233.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 288.

of Poles and repelled them from England. All the other features of England, however, taking into account the principles generally proclaimed in Poland, should have been attractive to the Polish nobility. Compared with Polish anarchy England was viewed and commended as the land of sensible freedom and envied for that. The English society, which created the great empire, was admired for its nobleness, diligence and above all for its unconstrained attachment to the state. Generally, Englishmen were envied for the features that Poles lacked. In their picture of the well-organized English society even the Anglican Church did not disturb, though the memoirists paid close attention to religious matters and were rather critical about religions other than Roman Catholicism. Also goods and products manufactured by the English were highly appreciated in the Republic. Saying that something was “English” meant that it was simply “good.” In the second half of the eighteenth century the positive picture of England and Englishmen was propagated by the Polish élites as they desired to gain an alliance with the British Crown and the friendship of Englishmen. The tendency is reflected by much greater interest in English matters among memoirists writing their accounts after the Fall of Poland in 1795.

IDEAS AND ART

POLISH-ENGLISH (BRITISH) PHILOSOPHICAL CONTACTS AND COMPARISONS FROM THE FIFTEENTH THROUGH THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Jan Woleński

To begin there are two preliminary remarks. First, any comparison of Polish and English (British) philosophy has to take into account that on the one hand we have a philosophical superpower and on the other hand, the thought of the nation which rarely played a main role in world philosophical development. In fact, Britain contributed extensively to philosophy from the thirteenth century. Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, John Burridan, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume and Thomas Reid were leading and influential philosophers of their times and beyond. No serious textbook of philosophy can omit these names. The second remark concerns the possibility of mutual influences according to geography. The distance between Poland and the British Isles made direct contacts difficult, at least until the real development of effective printing techniques. It is obvious that Poland was more subjected to influences coming from her neighbours, like Germany or Bohemia, and from Italy and France. Not only cultural facts were important in this respect, but also political events, for example, the marriage of Sigismund I the Old to Bona Sforza who brought many Italian humanists to Poland in the first half of sixteenth century or the election of Henry Valois as the Polish king in the second half of the same century.

Liberal arts, that is, the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, were taught in Polish cathedral schools from the eleventh century. Vitelo (c. 1230–c. 1314) was the first Polish philosopher and scientist or more precisely philosopher and scientist of German-Polish origin or *filius Thuringorum et Polonorum* as he defined himself. His *Perspective* became a very influential treatise on optics, used until seventeenth century in many universities and also in England. He probably learned philosophy in Poland. The first testimony of knowledge of Aristotle in Poland goes back to the turn of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the chronicle of Wincenty

Kadłubek of Kraków.¹ One of the fragments of the chronicle mentions pupils of Licofront, a sophist mentioned by Aristotle in his *Peri sophistikón elenchon* (*On Sophistic Refutations*). Thus, it appears that some elements of Aristotle's rhetoric were known in Poland about 1110. Kadłubek referred to a political dispute from the beginning of twelfth century.

However, the establishment of Kraków University (1364) was a decisive turning point for serious academic life in Poland. Strictly speaking, since the university, or rather an academy because it had no theological faculty, ceased its activities after ten years, it was its revival in 1400 that had real effects on Polish culture. The first philosophical influence came from Prague and its university, founded in 1348. That the first Kraków students and masters were educated at the Prague university is of the utmost importance for understanding intellectual developments in Kraków. Prague was dominated by two not quite mutually consistent trends. On the one side, the Wyclifian programme of social and political reforms found many supporters in Prague and essentially contributed to the rise of Hussitism. Wyclife himself was a realist as far as the controversy over universals was concerned. On the other side, logic in Prague was very strongly influenced by the *via moderna*, that is the nominalist and terminist tendencies of Ockham and Burridan. At this point, one should note that medieval philosophy had a fairly universal character. Although Ockham and Burridan were Englishmen, their views came to Prague *via* Paris, not directly from England, although original works of English schoolmen were well-known. The same was true of Kraków in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, nominalist ideas were the first important influence of English thought on Central Europe.

Wyclifism and Husitism were not very popular in Kraków because of their radicalism. Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, one of the first rectors of Kraków University after its revival even wrote a treatise, *Determinatio*, against Wyclife. It was probably the first Polish-English direct philosophical contact in history.² In general, the panorama of philosophy in Kraków in the fifteenth century was more complex than that in Prague at the end of the fourteenth. All scholastic currents had supporters in Poland. There were Thomists (Michał Falkener of Wrocław), Scottists

¹ Wincenty Kadłubek, c. 1150–1223. His *Chronicle* is the first narrative document written by an ethnic Pole. Notes to this paper contain very rudimentary information about Polish philosophers where nothing is said in the main text.

² Stanisław of Skarbimiria who died in 1431 was the author of many political pamphlets.

(Michał of Bystrzykowo and Jan of Stobnica) and terminists among Kraków philosophers of this time.³ Some of them tried to make a compromise between particular views. It was a natural outcome of how scholasticism first came to Poland. The same was true in Prague. Since the peak of this philosophy came between 1200 and 1350, Kraków witnessed late scholasticism. Although medieval culture had, due to religion, a universal character, it did not achieve uniformity. In fact, various currents competed, for example, Thomism and Scottism. These conflicts were deepened by the rivalries of powerful orders, in particular, between Dominicans, supporting Thomas Aquinas, and Franciscans favouring Duns Scotus and Ockham. These tensions were less strong in Poland and this fact made compromise possible.

Although Wyclife and Hus were not popular in Poland for their radicalism, that did not mean that they had no influence. On the contrary, Mateusz of Kraków (c. 1345–1410), the first important Polish philosopher, who was educated in Prague, became rector in Heidelberg in 1394, then rector in Kraków, wrote a very popular and important work, *De squaloribus curiae Romae*. It was a political pamphlet influenced by Wyclife and the *via moderna*, although not so extreme. Mateusz proposed a reform of the Church. In particular, he considered the controversy between conciliarism, which was the view that a general church Council is more important than the Pope, and curialism, which was the view that the Pope is more important than any Council. It was one of the most important political discussions of his day. Mateusz defended the former position. Similar views were advocated by Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, Benedykt Hesse and Paweł Włodkowic (Paulus Wladimirus).⁴ Polish conciliarism also had a practical dimension. Polish troops defeated the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410. The Knights accused the Polish King Vladislaus Jagiello of using pagans as soldiers in the war against Christians. This case was discussed at the Council of Konstanz (1414–1418), infamous for the burning of Jan Hus. Since the Pope

³ Michał Falkener of Wrocław (c. 1460–1534) was a philosopher, theologian and a professor of Kraków University. He wrote many treatises, including a commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Michał Twaróg of Bystrzykowo (c. 1450–c. 1420) was a philosopher, theologian and professor of Kraków University and the author of logical treatises. Jan of Stobnica (c. 1470–1519) was a philosopher and professor of Kraków University and the author of many books explaining Duns Scotus' philosophy.

⁴ Benedykt Hesse (c. 1389–1456) was a philosopher, theologian and professor of Kraków University. Beyond defending conciliarism he produced several logical and metaphysical writings.

sympathetized with the Teutonic Knights, it was quite natural that Poles opted for conciliarism. Paweł Włodkowic (c. 1370–c. 1470) should be separately mentioned in this context. His *Tractatus de potestate papae et imperatoris respectu infidelium* (1415) is perhaps the most important book in the early development of international law. Włodkowic, influenced by Ockham and Burridan in his thinking about ethics and law, followed and expanded on ideas of Stanislaus of Skarbimiria, his teacher, expressed in the speech *De bellis iustis* (1410). The principles governing *bellum iustum* (the just war) are the main focus of the *Tractatus de potestate*. In particular, Włodkowic argued that every aggressive war is unjust, every war in defense of a homeland is just. The just war for him warranted employing appropriate means, including using pagan soldiers, and any attempt to convert people by military force must be prohibited. These views became very popular in Poland and constituted the first step toward the age of tolerance in the sixteenth century. It is clear that ideas from England played a crucial role in Polish scholasticism in the fifteenth century. Besides the philosophers already mentioned, Jan of Głogów, a great master of logic in the spirit of the *via moderna* should be included.⁵ It is also known that works of English *calculatores*, the first mathematical physicists in the Middle Ages, were read in Poland. Hence, it is very likely that *via moderna*, *calculatores* and the theory of impetus essentially contributed to the intellectual atmosphere surrounding the work of Copernicus.

The arrival of Bona Sforza in Poland essentially determined the character of the Polish Renaissance, the golden age for Poland. It was dominated by Italian culture and thought. Although Poland remained Roman Catholic, the Reformation spread quite widely. In particular, Calvinism became strong in some circles of the noble class (*szlachta*). The most important Polish theoretical philosophers of the sixteenth century, like Jakób Górski (c. 1525–1585) or Adam Burski (c. 1560–1611) modelled their ideas on those of ancient thinkers, particularly the stoics. Burski's *Dialectica Ciceronis*, for example, played an important role in Poland. Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski (c. 1503–1572), a remarkable political writer and Calvinist, proposed a brave program of reform.⁶ His ideas became popular in Italy, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Spain

⁵ Jan of Głogów (c. 1445–1507) was the most distinguished Polish logician of the Middle Ages, but he also considered metaphysical problems. His works include several commentaries on Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

⁶ See his *Commentationum de Republica emendanda libri quinque*.

and France, but not in England. The only recorded important philosophical, or more accurately intellectual Polish-English contact from the first half of the sixteenth century was in the person of Leonard Coxe (Coxius), an English humanist who studied in Kraków and then lectured there in 1518–1520 and 1525–1527. He belonged to a quite numerous group of foreigners attracted by an intensive cultural life in Kraków, in particular, the activities of the *Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana*, patterned on Italian literary academies and societies. Coxe wrote *De laudibus Academiae Cracoviensis* (1518) and *Libellus de erudente iuventute* (1526). The former much praises Kraków University and its many past scholars, including medieval logicians, for example, Jan of Głogów. The latter is a treatise about the education of youth. Coxe insisted mostly on the teaching of classical languages in secondary schools. As a typical humanist he opposed scholasticism focusing on Latin and neglecting Greek. In particular, Coxe pointed out that teaching of classical languages in their original intellectual environment could contribute to the cultivating of moral virtues. About 100 years later, Marcin Śmiglecki (c. 1560–c. 1620) became a Polish counterpart to some extent of Coxe in England. His *Logica* (Ingolstadt 1618), a typical Aristotelian textbook of logic, was published three more times in 1634, 1638 and 1658. It became so popular among Oxonian students that a special *Societas Smiglicensis* was established in order to bring together people using this textbook. The influence of Śmiglecki's *Logica* was not limited to Oxford. Jonathan Swift mentions it, together with a textbook of Bartłomiej Keckermann, another Polish philosopher, as helpful in his preparation for his logic examination in Dublin in 1685.⁷

The influence of the Polish Brethren or *Fratri Poloni*, who were also called Arianists, Socinians or Anti-trinitarians, is perhaps the most important. Eventually the role of Polish logicians in the twentieth century would match that impact as far as the intellectual influence of Poland in England is concerned. Religious tolerance in Poland, introduced in the second half of the sixteenth century as an official political principle, attracted many people afraid of oppression in western Europe for their heretical views. Faust Socius (1539–1604), an emigrant from Italy, established a movement which became the most radical wing of Calvinism. The Italian Jan Crell (1590–1633, Ioannes Cirellus, Iunius Brutus

⁷ Bartłomiej Keckermann (1572–1609) was a logician, the author of *Praecognitorum logicorum tractatus tres*.

Polonus), the Pole Samuel Przypkowski (c. 1592–1670), the Germans Joachim Stegmann the Older (1595–1633) and Joachim Stegmann the Younger (1618–1678), the Austrian Jan Wolzogen (c. 1599–1661) and the Pole Andrzej Wiszowaty (1608–1678) who all lived and worked in Poland were among the most important representatives of the Polish Brethren. They developed an intensive activity, including teaching, notably at the Raków Academy, and publishing books, the centre of that also being in Raków.⁸ The Czech Brethren also found a place in Poland, namely in Leszno, where Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670, known as Comenius), a distinguished philosopher, was the central figure. The Polish Brethren worked in theology, philosophy, mostly ethics, and political thought. In theology, they postulated a natural religion, close to deism, but still Calvinist, at least in a general way and strongly criticized trinitarianism. Relations between Socinianism and Calvinism were fairly complicated and need not be explored here. In ethics, the Polish Brethren were radical pacifists, in politics they supported equality, social justice, tolerance and freedom of inquiry.

The age of tolerance came to an end about 1650, due to the Counter-Reformation, mainly carried out by Jesuits who appeared in Poland in the 1560's. Although Poland remained relatively tolerant, the Socinians became *personae non gratae*. The Raków Academy was closed in 1638. In 1658, the Polish Brethren were obliged to leave Poland or convert to Roman Catholicism. Most of them refused conversion and moved to western Europe, mostly to the Netherlands, where their main writings were published in the series *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*. The ideas of the Polish Brethren became popular in Europe very soon. They drew polemical attacks from, for example, Grotius and Leibniz, however, the attitude of the former evolved toward a much more sympathetic one. They even inspired strong criticism among orthodox Protestants but also had a positive influence on some. The last happened mostly in England. *The Rakow Catechism*, one of the standard Socinianists writings, was published in Poland in Latin in 1609 and reprinted several times. The 1652 edition caused a parliamentary debate. A special committee, which included Oliver Cromwell among its members, was appointed in order to investigate the problem of how it happened that the *Catechism*

⁸ On English views of the Polish Brethren see Beata Cieszyńska's paper in this volume.

was published. John Milton was involved in the issue of this publication. Although the book was banned in London in 1653, its English translation appeared in the same year, followed by editions of works of Przytkowski and Stegmann. The controversies over Socinianism were quite understandable. On the one hand, anti-papalism and democratic ideas attracted the politicians of the Parliament, but, on the other hand, the most important views concerning tolerance and politics were too radical for the leaders of English Revolution.

Two particular influences should be mentioned. Although John Locke never referred to Socinians, their influence on him is well documented. He was often accused of Socinianism and even called the Raccovian rabbi, that by John Edwards. Not only were writings of the *Fratrurn Polonorum* found in his library but also manuscripts with comments. It is certain that the idea of tolerance, one of the most central in Locke, as well as his decisive adherence to natural religion had origins in Socinianism. It is also known that Isaac Newton was familiar with writings of the Polish Brethren which became one of the sources of his anti-trinitarianism.

In the years 1550 to 1650 Poland, or more precisely the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was the largest European country and was among the European superpowers. After the death of Sigismund II Augustus, the last king of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the political system of the country fundamentally changed. In particular, the dynastic manner of appointing the king was replaced by a free election in which every nobleman could participate. It was not a good solution, because various parties tried to influence participants in order to achieve their own ends. Still more fatal things resulted from the principle of *liberum veto* by which every member of parliament, the *Sejm*, could end any parliamentary session by saying "I do not allow this law." It effectively paralysed legislative activities in Poland. Moreover, the country was involved in long wars with Sweden, Turkey and Russia, as well as in fighting with Cossack rebels. The defects of the political system and wars essentially weakened Poland. It lost its position in Europe and from the end of the seventeenth century became more and more dependent on foreign powers. Russia played the leading role in this process. The general political and economic crisis had very negative effects on culture. Philosophy, flourishing in the Middle Ages and until approximately 1650, fell into stagnation and was almost completely limited to late scholasticism, decisively abandoned in most other European countries. While great rationalist and empirical systems arose in western Europe, Polish philosophers still cultivated doctrines which had arisen 300 years

earlier and more. Perhaps never before or after was Polish philosophy so isolated from influences coming from abroad.

The continuing deterioration of Poland in the eighteenth century convinced a number of Poles to try to change this unfortunate situation. Although these attempts were politically unsuccessful and Poland lost its independence at the end of the eighteenth century, their intellectual effects were enormous. The first step consisted of reintroducing links with the world of philosophy in other countries. That was done by the Polish Enlightenment which persisted until 1831 with its peak in the period 1770–1800. This movement was very pluralistic as far as foreign influences were concerned. Although France enjoyed the greatest prestige in Poland of the eighteenth century, other links were also important, namely with Germany, England and Scotland. Locke strongly influenced Stanisław Konarski (1700–1773), the first important thinker of the Polish Enlightenment, in pedagogy and Jan Śniadecki (1756–1830), the most important scientist of the period. In general, Locke's empiricism was among the most popular views in Poland in the second half of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In fact, Śniadecki's *The Philosophy of Human Mind* (1822), an extensive epistemological treatise, had Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* as its starting point, in particular in the criticism of the theory of inborn ideas, that is nativism. Śniadecki was, however, more sensualistic and also incorporated some Kantian tenets into his version of empiricism. Locke's philosophy of religion was still more influential in Poland, at least from a practical point of view. French atheism could not be accepted in Poland since it was too radical. Locke's deism was perceived as the best solution for thinkers opposed to Roman Catholicism. In a sense, in the eighteenth century Locke paid his debt to the Polish Brethren.

The Scottish Enlightenment became particularly influential in the second part of the Polish Enlightenment, that is, after 1800. Jan Śniadecki combined Locke's empiricism with that of Thomas Reid and Douglas Stewart. In fact, *The Philosophy of Human Mind* can serve as a summary of views of this second Scottish philosopher. Several Polish philosophers studied in Edinburgh and knew Scottish philosophy first hand. All represented typical commonense realism, the main doctrine of Scots. This group included Jędrzej Śniadecki (1768–1838), Jan's younger brother, a distinguished chemist and professor in Vilnius who also studied in London, Michał Wiszniewski (1794–1765) who studied with William Hamilton and wrote *Sketches and Characters or the Natural*

History of the Human Intellects,⁹ and Krystyn Szyrma Lach (1791–1866) who studied with J. Wilson, better known as Christopher North, and lived in London as an emigrant after the November Uprising in 1831. All the currents of the Polish Enlightenment came to an end after 1831 when Polish national philosophy focused on recovering independence. It became fairly messianic and was influenced by German idealism which became dominant in Poland. Its life was as intensive as it was short because it came to an end after the January Uprising in 1864. The era of positivism in the second half of the nineteenth century in Poland included strong influences of Mill and Spencer. Although it seems that the earlier influences of British empiricism and Scottish commonsense thought in Poland contributed to the rise of Polish positivism that philosophical movement and further interchange between British and Polish philosophy belongs to another period.

Suggestions for further reading

There is no extensive monograph in any western language covering the whole history of Polish philosophy. For shorter accounts see:

- J. Czerkawski, A. B. Stępień, S. Wielgus, "Poland, Philosophy In," in: E. Craig, ed., *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, v. 7, London: Routledge, 1998: 483–89.
- G. Krzywicki-Herbert, "Polish Philosophy," in: P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, v. 6, New York, Macmillan 1967: 363–70.
- J. Woleński, "Philosophy," in: E. Szczepanik, ed., *The Polish Cultural & Scientific Heritage at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*, London: Polish Society of Arts and Sciences Abroad, 2003: 319–43.

Books in Polish concerning the period:

- B. Baczkowski et al., eds., *Filozofia w Polsce. Słownik pisarzy (Philosophy In Poland. The Dictionary of Writers)*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1971.
- J. Domański, Z. Ogonowski, L. Szczucki, *Żarys dziejów filozofii w Polsce. Wieki XIII–XVII (An Outline of the History of Philosophy in Poland. thirteenth–seventeenth Centuries)*, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989.
- W. Tatarkiewicz, *Żarys historii filozofii w Polsce (An Outline of the History of Philosophy in Poland)*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948.
- W. Wąsik, *Historia filozofii polskiej (The History of Polish Philosophy)*, v. I, Warsaw: Pax, 1959.

⁹ The work appeared in Polish in 1837 and in English in London in 1853.

Other relevant works:

- Jaworski, W., *Common Sense w Polsce* (Common Sense in Poland), Kraków: Aureus, 1994.
- Ogonowski, Z., "Polen," in: *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts 4. Das Heilige Römische reich Deustcher Nation. Nord-und Ostmitteleuurope. Zweiter Halbband*, hrs. von H. Holzhey und W. Schmidt-Biggemann under Mitarbeit von V. Mudroch, Basel: Schwabe Co. AG. Verlag, 2001: 1259–1345.
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- Wilbur, E. M., *A History of Unitarianism: Socinianism and Its Antecedents*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946.
- Williams, G. H., ed., *Polish Brethren. Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithaunian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601–1685*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- , *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd edition, Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2000.

ECHOES OF THE EAST: GLIMPSES OF THE 'ORIENT' IN BRITISH AND POLISH-LITHUANIAN PORTRAITURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Aleksandra Koutny-Jones

Edward Said claimed in his seminal work on 'Orientalism' that, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient."¹ This particular theory obscures our understanding of cultural exchange between Europe and the East because it inevitably leads to generalisations about Europe itself. Like Said's notion of the 'East', Europe has never been a monolithic concept, and it is misleading to suppose that all European countries responded in uniform fashion to external influences.

Significantly, in studies of 'Orientalism' which have long focused upon those European nations that maintained international empires, Central and Eastern Europe have been particularly neglected, and are therefore easily misrepresented by existing generic theories about Europe's relationship with the 'East'. The complexity of Europe's cultural dialogue with Islamic countries is shown dramatically in eighteenth century society portraits from Britain and Poland-Lithuania in which the sitters wear Near and Middle Eastern-style dress, thus adopting widely recognised signifiers of non-Christian cultures. By considering the influence of the Orient both on an imperial nation and a largely overlooked European power, the diversity of interaction between East and West becomes clear, a diversity which is in sharp contrast to the traditional focus upon Western Europe alone.

Despite their superficial similarity, the eighteenth century portraits from Britain and Poland-Lithuania are the product of very distinct circumstances and contain a plethora of varied references to contact

¹ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3. This book was first published in 1978 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). Said establishes the "very roughly defined starting point [of] Orientalism" as the late eighteenth century, but his study, in fact, also makes reference to comparable European attitudes to the 'Orient' during previous centuries. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

with the Near East in particular.² It is incorrect to infer, as Said often implies, that Europeans unequivocally portrayed the 'Orient' to its detriment, in order to place themselves in a position of comparative power. British travellers to the Ottoman Empire, rather than distinguishing themselves as 'European', frequently adopted indigenous styles of dress as a means of assimilating into Islamic society. Polish-Lithuanian noblemen, meanwhile, actually incorporated Turkish and Persian elements into the most representative form of Polish male dress. The portraits discussed below, depicting British and Polish-Lithuanian sitters dressed in Near and Middle Eastern-inspired fashions, demonstrate how, instead of acting as a polarising influence, costume formed a bridge between the visual culture of Christian and Islamic countries.

As Aileen Ribeiro has shown, "more than any other non-European country, Turkey in the eighteenth century was one of the most important influences on the arts and culture of Europe."³ This is in large degree due to the reduced military threat posed by the Ottoman Empire from the end of the seventeenth century, which encouraged more travel to this region. Diplomatic embassies provided a particularly important means of contact, as they allowed people of one country direct access to the highest social spheres of another. However, one of the single most important accounts of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century comes not from a diplomat himself, but from the wife of a diplomat. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu travelled to Turkey with her husband, who was British ambassador there between 1716 and 1718. Rather than being a passive companion, she took an avid interest in the country in which she was staying, particularly in terms of the customs of Turkish women. She gained entry to the women's quarters, or harems, in residences in Istanbul (Constantinople) and so, although a foreigner, she had the privilege of going where even a Turkish man could be denied access.⁴ Lady Mary recorded her impressions in her letters to family and acquaintances in

² The analysis of Polish-Lithuanian portraiture in this study is a continuation of research begun during the Certificate of Postgraduate Study in History of Art at Cambridge University. I am grateful to Cambridge University and Pembroke College, Cambridge, for their generous funding of my research for the Certificate of Postgraduate Study, and to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for their subsequent funding of my doctoral work.

³ Ribeiro, "Turquerie," p. 17. For the impact of Turkish dress upon European fashions, see also Pape, "Turquerie im 18," pp. 305–23. For a broader study of the influence of Islamic culture upon Britain, Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession*.

⁴ Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind*, pp. 16–21.

England; these letters soon became a talking point in English society, and were published shortly after Lady Mary's death in 1762.

Significantly, Lady Mary described how fashionable Turkish women dressed both indoors and outdoors, and also ordered such clothing for herself. In a letter of 1717 to her sister, Lady Mar, she tells in detail of the "Turkish habit" which she wears, and praises the elegant head-dresses she has seen.⁵ As a record of her stay in the Ottoman Empire, Lady Mary commissioned portraits from the Franco-Flemish artist Jean Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737), who resided there.⁶ In these paintings, this European woman came to be transformed by her Turkish clothing, bearing witness to her attempt to assimilate aspects of the material culture of her temporary homeland. A detailed portrait painted in Istanbul c. 1717 shows her accompanied by her young son Edward, also wearing Turkish clothing, with a female musician playing the Turkish lute seated alongside (Figure 1).⁷ Here, Lady Mary wears a yellow kaftan fastened with a girdle, and a blue gown edged with ermine, as well as a decorative headdress. This is clothing of the type that Turkish women wore indoors, and Vanmour does indeed show her inside a building, the walls of which have been removed. A Turkish carpet lies on the floor. Oriental carpets had long been prized in Europe, and were depicted in religious paintings, genre scenes and portraits.⁸ Notably, to the right of Lady Mary, a man approaches bearing a letter, an allusion to her passion for writing. In the background is the faint skyline of the Ottoman city, with its minarets and the dome of a mosque. The contextualisation of this image gives the impression of a European who is trying to become part of the culture to which she has been exposed. Indeed, through her experiences of Turkey, Lady Mary had found some level of personal fulfilment and independence. She had gained knowledge of another country in a way European women could rarely do. She expressed her new status as a 'woman of the world' by adopting elements of Ottoman female dress. Furthermore, she chose to be represented in this manner in several portraits, some of which were painted in Turkey, and others upon her return to England.⁹

⁵ *The Selected Letters*, pp. 95–97.

⁶ For Vanmour's paintings of people and architecture in Turkey, including depictions of embassy visits, van Luttervelt, *De 'Turkse' schilderijen van J. B. Vanmour*.

⁷ For this portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, Birkett, *Off the Beaten Track*, p. 47.

⁸ King and Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet*; Schwarz, *Orient-Okzident*.

⁹ For portraits of Lady Mary by Vanmour, Jonathan Richardson, and other artists, Pointon, "Going Turkish in Eighteenth-Century London," pp. 140–57.



Figure 1: Attributed to Jean Baptiste Vanmour, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, Edward Wortley Montagu, and attendants*, c. 1717

Lady Mary's experiences may be compared to those of another British woman, Lady Hester Stanhope, who travelled to the Near East in 1810 and lived there until her death in 1839 thus gaining first-hand experience of the 'Orient'. Lady Hester's journey and the personal independence it brought her were immortalised in portraits depicting her in Near Eastern dress.¹⁰ These include an equestrian portrait and representations of the sitter wearing large, elaborate headdresses (Figure 2). Indeed, Lady Hester was so interested in the clothing of Islamic countries that she often made costume studies of individuals whom she met on her travels.¹¹

However, female travellers such as Lady Mary and Lady Hester were not the only British women to wear non-European clothing at this time. In England, Lady Mary's Turkish letters not only gained popularity

¹⁰ In fact, Lady Hester became known for adopting Near Eastern male dress. Birkett, *Off the Beaten Track*, p. 19.

¹¹ Lorna Gibb's biography of Lady Hester makes reference to Lady's Hester's portraits and costume studies (for example, those of 'Turkish women in their 'outdoor' dress'). Gibb, *Lady Hester*.



Figure 2: *Lady Hester Stanhope on horseback*

as a fascinating travel diary, but also helped to promote Near Eastern models of dress and encouraged the notion of portraits 'à la Turquie'. Turkish fabrics were widely imported and by the mid-eighteenth century it became fashionable to adopt non-European costume during frivolous pursuits such as masquerades, and to be painted wearing seductive Near Eastern-style clothing based upon descriptions of the garments that Turkish women wore indoors. Several ladies who could not boast any contact with the Near East are therefore found depicted in such 'fancy dress' in portraits superficially very similar to those of Lady Mary and Lady Hester, and yet more trivial in their token assimilation of the culture of Islamic countries. In contrast to these derivative depictions, the first-hand experiences of Lady Mary and Lady Hester make their adoption of non-European costume particularly genuine.

Increased contact with the Ottoman Empire may also be detected in portraits of British men in the mid-eighteenth century. Here, the sitters wear Europeanised versions of Turkish dress, such as fur-lined gowns over long tunics and trousers, as well as elaborate turbans. As with female attire, appreciation of non-European garments was sometimes the result of direct personal contact with Near Eastern culture, but could also be symptomatic of a craving for 'exotic' fashions. Several such portraits were painted by the Swiss artist Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789),¹² who resided in Istanbul between 1738 and 1742. He painted his fellow travellers, the Earls of Sandwich and Bessborough, in clothing typical of Englishmen in the Ottoman Empire. He also portrayed Richard Pococke (Figure 3) who was in Istanbul at the time and later published an account of his travels, entitled *A Description of the East*.¹³ Therefore, these three men were painted within the context of their own contact with the Near East, wearing Ottoman-style clothing with pride as a sign of their cultural awareness as travellers. However, upon returning to Europe, Liotard also began to paint Europeans in Turkish dress to capitalise on the demand for such representations. Again, these derivative portraits should be understood as fashionable images which do not convey anything about the sitters' personal experience of the Near East, but rather about the eighteenth century

¹² For this artist, Fosca, *Liotard*; Loche and Roethlisberger, *L'opera completa di Liotard*.

¹³ Pococke, *A Description of the East*. For Liotard's portrait of Pococke in the *Fondation Gottfried Keller* deposit at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva, McCarthy, "'The dullest man that ever travelled?'" pp. 25–29.



Figure 3: Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Portrait of Richard Pococke*, c. 1738–39

western European penchant for a more generic assimilation of Near Eastern visual culture.

Unlike in western Europe, Turkish and Persian clothing had been a direct inspiration for dress in certain Central and Eastern European countries long before the eighteenth century, a fact that is often forgotten in accounts of the Near and Middle Eastern influence upon Europe. Significantly, portraits from countries such as Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, Romania and Moldavia show how national dress in large parts of Europe was directly influenced by contact with the Near and Middle East.¹⁴ Indeed, it is the Hungarian Stephen Batory who is often credited with precipitating the adoption of non-European fashions in Poland, following his election as king of Poland-Lithuania in 1575.¹⁵ In one of the first depictions of Near and Middle Eastern-inspired dress in Polish portraiture executed c. 1583, court artist Marcin Kober (c. 1550–c. 1597) depicted King Stephen in full-length, wearing a *żupan*, a long tunic which was to become one of the most characteristic elements of Polish-Lithuanian attire, and a *delia*, a fur-lined coat which was often slung over the shoulders (Figure 4).¹⁶

In Poland-Lithuania, the adoption of Near and Middle Eastern motifs was not merely a decorative and fashionable alternative to European dress, but became an intrinsic element of national costume. In fact, it linked neatly with the growing interest in the country's alleged 'Sarmatian' ancestry. The Sarmatians were a nomadic tribe of Iranian origin, closely associated with the more well-known Scythians.¹⁷ Having travelled from Central Asia, the Sarmatians are thought to have eventually gained control of the area between the Dnieper and Danube around 125 BC,¹⁸ and were referred to by several ancient writers, including Herodotus and Tacitus.¹⁹ Described by Pomponius Mela in his *de*

¹⁴ For a history of dress in Central and Eastern Europe, Turnau, *History of Dress*. For seventeenth century depictions of Near and Middle Eastern-style dress in Central European countries, Zawadzka, *Seminaria Niedzickie*. For an analysis of the influence of Turkey and Persia on Polish dress, Mańkowski, "Wpływy wschodu w polskim ubiorze," pp. 190–210; Mrozowski, "Orientalizacja stroju szlacheckiego," pp. 243–61; Turnau, "Wpływy wschodnie w polskim ubiorze," p. 188.

¹⁵ For a history of Hungarian dress, László *et al.*, *Historic Hungarian Costume*.

¹⁶ Ostrowski *et al.*, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, pp. 70–71.

¹⁷ For a study of the Sarmatians, Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*.

¹⁸ Harmatta, "Studies in the History and Language," p. 39.

¹⁹ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 4, chapter 117, p. 342; Tacitus, *The Histories*, Book 1, chapters 2 and 79, I pp. 5, 133. Furthermore, for a reference to horses from Sarmatia, for which the region was famous, Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 26, chapter 63, VII, p. 339.



Figure 4: Marcin Kober, *Stephen Batory*, c. 1583

Chorographia, published c. 44 AD, as “warlike, free, [and] unconquered,”²⁰ certain qualities of these ancestors were seen to be worthy of emulation, and modern Poles began to refer to themselves as ‘Sarmatian’.²¹ The Middle Eastern origins of the ancient Sarmatians made the adoption of non-European costume attractive to the Poles, as though wearing such dress brought them closer to their ancient roots.

As a result, this type of assimilation cannot be understood as ‘orientalism’, since Turkish and Persian motifs were soon appropriated as indigenous components of Polish fashion. Thus, Near and Middle Eastern elements emerged as an inseparable part of the visual culture of Poland-Lithuania.

It is important to emphasise the increasing forms of interaction between the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania, and the numerous opportunities for cultural exchange which this presented. As with Britain, diplomatic missions played a major role in peacetime exchange, during which visitors would be presented with lavish gifts as a mark of respect.²² This process is recorded in a miniature painting by Pierre Paul Sevin (1650–1710) in Kraków’s Czartoryski Museum, an archetypal example of depictions of European embassies to Istanbul. Sevin’s 1679 painting of the farewell reception for the Polish envoy Jan Gniński in the palace of the Grand Vezir depicts sumptuous white fabrics embroidered in gold and weapons which are brought to the Polish visitors by the Vezir’s attendants.²³ Much valued in Turkish society, such diplomatic gifts would also be understood as items of prestige in Europe.

When not received as gifts, Turkish fabrics and weapons were frequently imported into Poland-Lithuania. Indeed, from the fourteenth century Poland had acted as something of an intermediary in trade between the Near and Middle East and Europe.²⁴ This brought many Turkish and Persian goods to Poland-Lithuania, including jewelled weapons, horse trappings and luxurious fabrics which were made into items of liturgical and noble dress. The import of such merchandise

²⁰ Romer, *Pomponius Mela’s Description*, Book 3, section 34, p. 110.

²¹ For example, Szymon Starowolski’s well-known 1631 publication of short biographies of Polish military heroes was entitled *Sarmatiae Bellatores*. Starowolski, *Wojownicy sarmaccy*.

²² For information about Polish travellers to the Ottoman Empire, Łątka, *Słownik Polaków*.

²³ For this painting, and three other depictions of this embassy, Żygulski, *Muzeum Czartoryskich*, pp. 110–11.

²⁴ Żygulski, *Sztuka perska*, pp. 8–9.

was carried out to a large extent by Armenians, especially in the eastern regions of the Commonwealth. Eventually, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, workshops set up in Poland-Lithuania, for example those run by Armenians in Lviv (Lwów), began to produce objects in Turkish and Persian styles, such as tapestries and weapons, for the growing Polish-Lithuanian market.²⁵

However, interaction with the Near East also came in the form of military conflict.²⁶ In the seventeenth century Poland-Lithuania frequently found itself at war with the Ottoman Empire. At times of military victory, the winning side would take items of material culture from the losing side in the form of war booty. Poland-Lithuania's role in the 1683 victory over the Ottomans at Vienna was particularly decisive in bringing many Turkish items to Poland. These included heavily embroidered tents and war banners, items of great prestige, and also smaller acquisitions such as finely executed horse trappings, tapestries and weapons. The status of Near Eastern objects as symbols of military victory aided the continuation of their appeal beyond the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. Such spoils of war can now be viewed in several Polish museums, and form an important primary source for the study of Ottoman military culture.²⁷

As a result of these various friendly and hostile forms of interaction with Islamic countries, as well as close contact with other countries where clothing was influenced by non-European models such as Hungary, Polish-Lithuanian male noble costume developed strong references to Near and Middle Eastern dress. This male attire is recorded in Polish-Lithuanian portraits as early as the end of the sixteenth century, and was particularly popular in the seventeenth. Such clothing remained the traditional form of male dress in the eighteenth century, although at this time western European fashions were also popular. Despite the influence of Western fashions, Near and Middle Eastern-inspired clothing was continuously regarded as the 'national dress', and wearing it was understood as a patriotic statement. For example, when King

²⁵ For a study of Armenian trade and workshops in Poland, Biedrońska-Słota, *Ormianie polscy*. For the Polish production of decorative sashes, Chruszczyńska, "Kilka szczegółów dotyczących radziwiłłowskich persjarni," pp. 85–95.

²⁶ For a contemporary western European opinion of how wars with the Ottoman Empire influenced the adoption of Turkish costume in Poland-Lithuania, Bernard Connor, *The History of Poland*, II, p. 196.

²⁷ For Near Eastern armour and embroidered tents in Polish collections, Franaszek and Kuczman, *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683*; Majda and Abrahamowicz, *Wojna i pokój*.

John Casimir chose to be portrayed by court painter Daniel Schultz (c. 1615–1683) soon after his election to the throne in 1648 wearing a Polish *żupan* and *delia*,²⁸ he was doing so as a political statement to ingratiate himself with the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Normally, he rarely chose to don non-Western dress,²⁹ let alone be portrayed wearing it.

In the eighteenth century, Turkish and Persian-inspired attire enjoyed a revival during the Polish Enlightenment, when it was understood as a patriotic statement at a time when the independence of the country was threatened. Wearing such national costume thus became a way of declaring loyalty to the ‘Fatherland’ and winning favour with men of influence.³⁰ The reaffirmation of these traditional Polish-Lithuanian signifiers in the late eighteenth century emphasises the national pride associated with the wearing of male noble dress, and demonstrates the political implications of one’s choice of costume.

The bold self-confidence of Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, who had been secretary to King John III Sobieski, captured by an unknown Polish artist in a portrait of the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Figure 5), demonstrates how Polish male attire had developed by then into a truly national style.³¹ The sitter wears a light-coloured *żupan*, over which is a traditional Polish *kontusz*, a robe with sleeves split from the armpit to the elbow.³² Stanisław’s *kontusz* is bright red and its sleeves fall loosely by his side. Fastening the *kontusz* at the waist is a decorative sash, from which hangs a Near Eastern-style sabre. Such sabres were used in battle against the Ottomans, but also became a symbol of noble status in Poland-Lithuania. Even though this portrait shows a mature version of the national dress, it still bears close resemblance to Turkish clothing. In a mid-seventeenth century Ottoman miniature painting of Sultan Ibrahim from a costume album in the collections of the National Library in Warsaw, one of the personal guards, or *solaks*, accompanying the Sultan wears a comparable blue kaftan which is

²⁸ For this portrait, and other Polish portraits in the collections of Gripsholm Castle, Sweden, Karlsson, ‘Polish Portraits,’ pp. 157–170.

²⁹ Fabiani, *Na dworze Wazów*, p. 81.

³⁰ For examples of individuals who consciously changed their attire to traditional Polish costume at this time, Butterwick, *Poland’s Last King*, p. 314; Orlńska-Mianowska, *Modny świat XVIII wieku*, p. 34.

³¹ The portrait is in the collections of the Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie in Warsaw. Chrzanowski, *Portret staropolski*, p. 44.

³² For a description of the fabrics used in eighteenth century Polish male attire, Orlńska-Mianowska, *Modny świat XVIII wieku*, pp. 34–36.



Figure 5: Anonymous Polish artist, *Portrait of Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, second quarter of the 18th century

cut down the front, has open, split sleeves hanging down the back and is emphasised at the waist by a wide sash (Figure 6). Like Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, he wears yellow boots.³³

However, there is a fundamental difference between the Polish and Ottoman outfits: unlike Turkish men, and in sharp contrast to portraits of British travellers to Islamic countries, Stanisław Antoni Szczuka leaves his head uncovered, holding a fur-lined hat in his left hand. This is significant, because the headdress is an integral part of Islamic culture and an overtly religious demonstration of the individual's submission to God.³⁴ Although Polish fur hats drew inspiration from Persian prototypes, Polish noblemen did not wear turbans. Indeed, noblemen were frequently depicted in formal portraits without any head-covering, revealing their partially shaven heads in traditional Polish manner. By assimilating and adapting several aspects of Islamic dress, but rejecting the turban, these noblemen were asserting the religious and cultural distinction between the Ottomans and themselves.

Yet, isolated instances of portraits of Polish-Lithuanian men wearing turbans do occur. A notable example is a nineteenth century portrait by an unknown artist of Count Wacław Seweryn Rzewuski,³⁵ who became famous for his journey to the Arab lands (1817–1820), and his intense fascination with the cultures he encountered. During this expedition, he painted watercolours of the people, landscapes and architecture he saw, as well as self-portraits in Arab dress.³⁶ His journey can be paralleled with that of the British travellers discussed earlier, and it is known that he visited Lady Hester Stanhope in her residence in Joun in Lebanon.³⁷ Therefore, his portrait should not be treated as belonging to the tradition of Polish-Lithuanian portraiture, but rather as part of the wider genre of depictions of European travellers abroad.

In contrast to Count Wacław Seweryn Rzewuski, a portrait of 1773–74 of his grandfather, Wacław Rzewuski, alludes to conflict with the Near East. Polish fighters saw themselves as standing on the edge of Christendom and providing a line of military defence against Islamic

³³ Library catalogue number BOZ 165. For the miniature painting of the Sultan, Kangal, *The Sultan's Portrait*, p. 335.

³⁴ Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 647–48.

³⁵ For the portrait, now in the Muzeum Narodowe in Wrocław, Rostworowski, *Polaków portret własny*, p. 99.

³⁶ For an account of Rzewuski's travels and reproductions of his watercolours, Majda, *Podróż do Arabii*.

³⁷ Stanhope, *Memoirs of the Lady Hester Stanhope*, III, pp. 182–84.



Figure 6: Anonymous Ottoman artist, *Sultan Ibrahim on horseback*, mid-seventeenth century

invasion, and it is in this symbolic role that an unknown artist depicted the military leader Wacław Rzewuski. The mace which he holds, known in Poland-Lithuania as a *bulawa*, is a status symbol denoting the high military rank of *hetman*.³⁸ Such decorative, and frequently jewel-encrusted, maces were initially imported from the Near and Middle East, but were eventually also produced in Poland. Holding his *bulawa* and wearing traditional Polish dress, Wacław Rzewuski is shown surrounded by tents and weapons.³⁹ The image reveals the extent to which Polish-Lithuanian noblemen had come to resemble their Turkish military opponents, by adopting clothing and weaponry not dissimilar to theirs. In many ways, such tactics were necessary because Near Eastern arms were the best means of fighting the Ottomans. For example, curved sabres were much better than European swords at cutting through the layers of cloth worn by Ottoman fighters. Thus, the only way of maintaining a distinction between the armies was by the Polish-Lithuanian rejection of the overtly Islamic turban.

The decision, whether or not to adopt the turban, is a lucid example of the different application of costume from Islamic lands in British and Polish-Lithuanian portraiture. British travellers to Turkey would adopt headdresses modelled upon those of the Ottomans; while abroad, they did not question the wearing of the turban. Indeed, Near Eastern costume was never at the heart of British dress and portraiture, but rather a manifestation of passing trends for non-European fashions, and a means of expressing the individuality and cultural knowledge of specific sitters. In contrast, since elements of Turkish and Persian dress had developed into an integral part of Polish-Lithuanian national identity, they had to be adapted to match the Christian culture of this nation, necessitating the rejection of the distinctly Islamic turban.

Although Near and Middle Eastern dress greatly influenced male costume in Poland-Lithuania, female fashions were predominantly inspired by western European clothing. The cultural juxtaposition of 'orientalising' male attire and 'westernising' female dress is faithfully recorded in a group portrait of the Sieniawski family, painted by an

³⁸ For biographies of the *hetmani* of the Kingdom of Poland, and their portraits, Nagielski, *Poczet hetmanów Rzeczypospolitej*.

³⁹ The portrait is in the collections of the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw. For this portrait, in which Wacław Rzewuski is depicted wearing the insignia of the prestigious Polish Order of the White Eagle, Rostworowski, *Polaków portret własny*, pp. 73–74.

unknown Polish artist between 1724 and 1726 (Figure 7).⁴⁰ Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski and Stanisław Ernest Denhoff are depicted wearing Polish noble dress, each holding a *buława*. Unlike their husbands, the women in the painting, Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski's wife Elżbieta and their daughter Maria Zofia, wear western European-style clothing. While Polish women's European-style garments could be made from Turkish and Persian fabrics, there was no great fashion for ostensibly non-European styles as in eighteenth-century Britain. Yet, isolated examples of Near Eastern-inspired Polish female attire can be found, for example the low-cut gown decorated with elaborate passementerie and matching headdress worn by Katarzyna, daughter of Ludwik Kazimierz Bieliński, Marshal of the Crown, in a portrait by an unknown artist of c. 1720.⁴¹

As has been shown, although superficially similar, portraits of British and Polish-Lithuanian sitters dressed in Near and Middle Eastern fashions in fact hide an array of complex cultural interactions with the 'Orient'. While in Britain clothing from the Near East constituted a passing fashion trend, subordinate to European modes of dress, in Poland-Lithuania Turkish and Persian designs helped to define the attire of noblemen, which was often worn on a daily basis. Indeed, the assimilation of non-European fashions seen in eighteenth century Polish portraits was not due to the "new awareness of the Orient" of which Said speaks,⁴² but was the result of a long and sustained process of cultural interaction that had begun in the sixteenth century. When considering British and Polish-Lithuanian portraiture, it is therefore vital to understand the context in which the portraits were produced in order to appreciate the significance of the Near and Middle Eastern motifs they incorporate. Fundamentally, when assessing the European assimilation of Turkish and Persian dress in the eighteenth century, the diversity of Europe itself must be acknowledged, thus undermining

⁴⁰ The portrait is in the collections of the Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie in Warsaw. For this portrait, Rostworowski, *Polaków portret własny*, pp. 79–80.

⁴¹ Rostworowski, *Polaków portret własny*, p. 72. An earlier example of Polish-Lithuanian portraiture in which the dress of the female sitter is influenced by Near Eastern fashions is a rare profile portrait of an unidentified noblewoman by an unknown artist painted in the second half of the seventeenth century and formerly in the Lviv Gallery of Paintings (stolen). For a reproduction of this, Malinowski, *Where East meets West*, p. 151.

⁴² Said, *Orientalism*, p. 42.

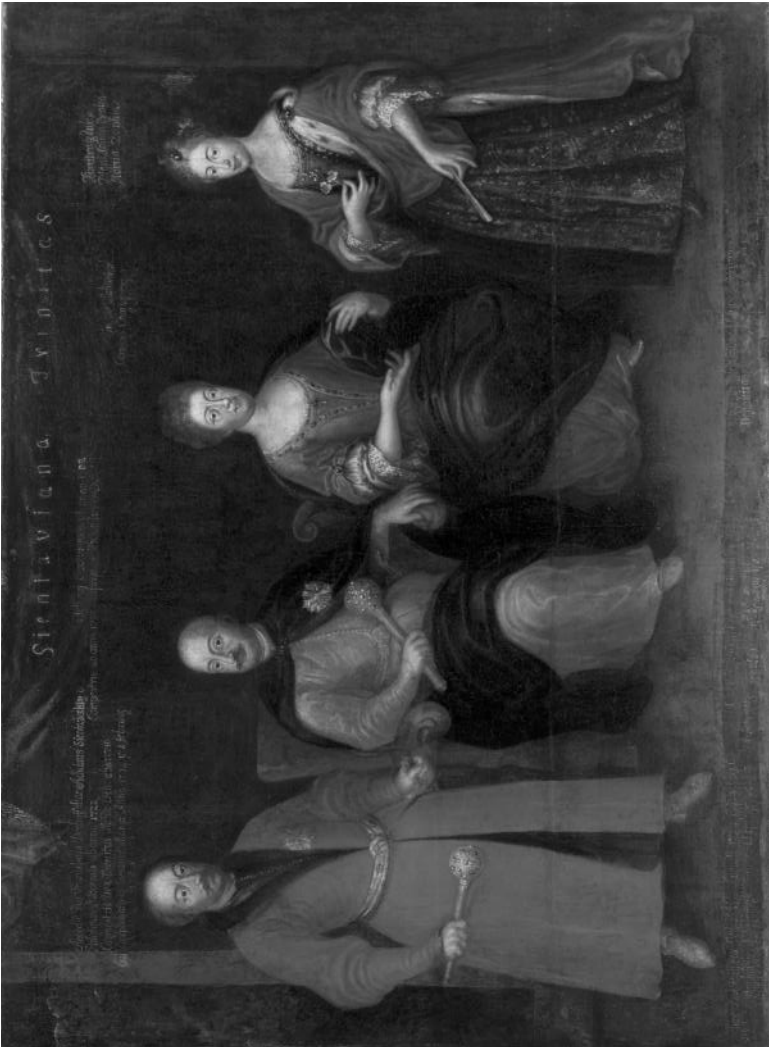


Figure 7: Anonymous Polish artist, *Group portrait of the Sieniawski family*, 1724–1726

existing generalised arguments about 'Occidental' attitudes to the 'Orient'.

Said's suggestion that, "the Orient has helped to define Europe... as its contrasting image"⁴³ is an indiscriminate, and therefore limited, assessment of European culture. In fact, in the portraits, there is frequently a blending of cultures in which clear labelling of 'Orient' and 'Occident' cannot be applied. This is the case with several British portraits of individuals in Near Eastern dress, which record the first-hand experiences of British travellers to Turkey. Portraits such as those of Lady Mary or Richard Pococke manifest a genuine interest in the culture of the Ottoman Empire, and depict the sitters wearing the clothing of their surrogate homeland. Such images must be distinguished from the generic British paintings of the eighteenth century in which sitters who had no contact with the Near or Middle East decided to be portrayed wearing Turkish and Persian-style dress as a frivolous mark of current fashions. In the case of Poland-Lithuania, where elements of Near and Middle Eastern dress were directly assimilated into the national costume, and where Turkish and Persian weapons became an indigenous symbol of noble prestige, the boundary between 'Oriental' and 'Occidental' signifiers is particularly difficult to define. Indeed, this national dress continued to be worn as a patriotic statement by the nobility in the nineteenth century, following the final partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795. In this way, clothing and weaponry from the 'Orient' did indeed help to define Polish-Lithuanian identity, yet not as its "contrasting image" but rather as an intrinsic part of its visual culture.

Thus, in light of the complex meanings revealed in the portraits discussed, there is a strong argument for reassessing the role of Near and Middle Eastern fashions as part of the history of dress within the whole of Europe, with Central and Eastern Europe being given a greater degree of attention than has so far been the case. It is only by acknowledging the true diversity of Europe in the eighteenth century, and the similarly diverse nature of the interaction of European nations with the Near and Middle East, that we can come to a broader and more accurate understanding of the much disputed relationship between the so-called Occident and Orient.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. 1–2.

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